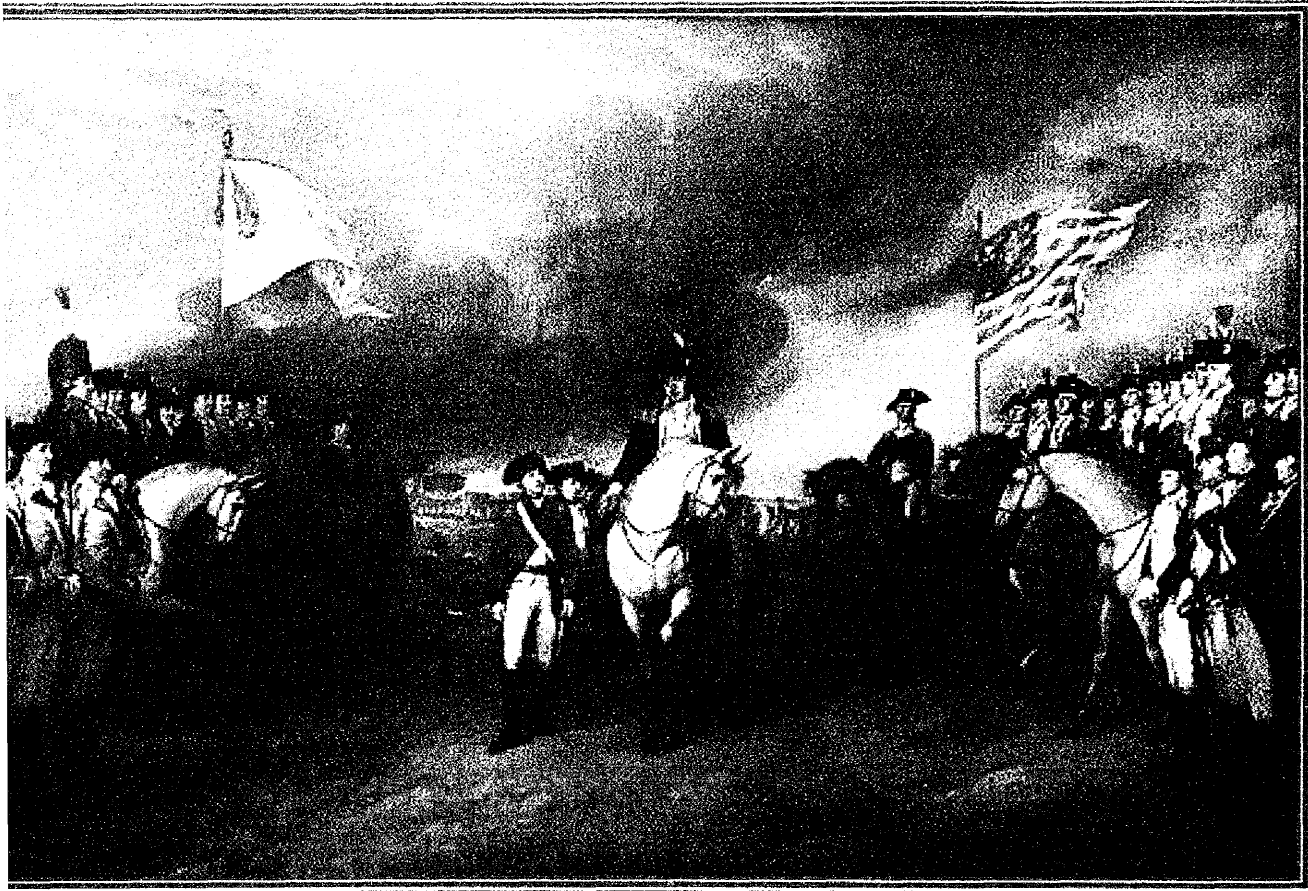




STAFF RIDE HANDBOOK FOR
THE BATTLE OF YORKTOWN
28 SEPTEMBER - 19 OCTOBER 1781



By

MAJ STEVEN J. RAUCH
4TH TRAINING SPT BN (CS/CSS) LEE



November 1998



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Major Steven J. Rauch

*4th Training Support Battalion (CS/CSS) Lee
621 3rd Street
Fort Lee, Virginia 23801-1514*

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INTRODUCTION

"Oh God. It is all over. It is all over"

Lord North on learning of Cornwallis'
surrender, 25 November 1781

The Battle of Yorktown stands quietly in American history, an unglamorous, yet significant testimony to the determination, dedication and success of those who fought in the American Revolution. Not only does Yorktown represent a victory of American will and military power over the vaunted British Empire, it was also the pinnacle of triumph for the Continental Army - a Regular Army - supported by a citizen militia and an Allied foreign power. Today, in an era experiencing a wide resurgence in the study of both scholarly and popular military history (particularly American Civil War history) mention the Battle of Yorktown and be prepared for a blank stare. More likely one would receive a response identifying it as a component of the 1862 Civil War Peninsula Campaign, overshadowed even then by the more energetic Battle of Williamsburg. Others may identify it simply as a siege on part of an overwhelming American Army followed by a quick British surrender. On the surface that may be true, but not in the details where its drama and complexity within the context of American military history is significant. Most importantly, Yorktown was a **war-terminating battle**, the first in a list of final American victories that includes Fallen Timbers, New Orleans, Chapultepec, Appomattox and others. As such, it deserves greater recognition than has been accorded it by historians, military personnel, and other citizens both in and out of uniform.

During the Battle of Yorktown, General George Washington commanded units of the Continental Army (the regular Army) and the Virginia Militia (equivalent of the National Guard). Victory over General Cornwallis was successful because of this Total Army effort. Yorktown is considered by many military historians to be the "birth" of the modern U.S. Army because of the organization and training of the Continental Army prior to the battle. The Yorktown campaign was also a combined operation of the American Army and the French Army, and serves as a precursor of modern combined operations such as those conducted in Desert Storm and currently in Bosnia. Yorktown was also a joint operation with Allied Army and Navy elements cooperating in defeating the British Army and Navy in September and October 1781.

This battlefield guide or handbook, represents an attempt to help promote the significance of the Battle of Yorktown to the United States Army. The idea began during a *Staff Ride* to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. At the end of this visit to yet another Civil War battlefield, our guide from the U.S. Army Military History

Institute (whose specialty was colonial history) suggested that my unit undertake a study and visit to Yorktown, a mere hour or so away from our post. He reinforced my own view of Staff Rides, which is any battle that has been fought by soldiers is worthy and suitable for conducting a staff ride. My own forte happens to be the "forgotten conflict" of the War of 1812 and I have conducted many trips to those battlefields in Michigan and Ohio. Upon unit personnel urging, I planned and conducted a thorough, by the book, Staff Ride to Yorktown. At the conclusion of the Staff Ride, many participants asked for copies of the information I used to conduct the event. The result is this handbook, which is patterned after similar publications for other battlefields.

The Staff Ride has been designed to support the U.S. Army professional development program through a unique method of conveying the lessons of the past to those who may lead on the battlefields of tomorrow. This technique involves in-depth study and preparation and is not simply a guided tour of the battlefield or terrain walk. The Staff Ride is an exercise in critical thinking by contrasting historical events with the application of current military doctrine and techniques. The battlefields of the past stand as important reminders of the complex problems previous military leaders had to face and provide many insights applicable to today's leaders.

Any battle may be studied using this methodology, and any training objective can be accomplished within the context of the Staff Ride. For instance, a Staff Ride to Yorktown may have as an objective to reinforce the current Army vision of *One Team, One Fight, One Future* as it relates to the integration of the Active and Reserve Components of the Total Army. In this context, the staff ride may examine the "One Past" through a visit to Yorktown where soldiers can gain valuable insight into the origins of this policy and a vivid example of why inter-service and intra-service cooperation is vital to achieve victory. Other objectives may be to trace the development of the Army as an institution or simply to reinforce an interest in the heritage of the U.S. Army. In any case, as with all training, you must have a clearly defined and attainable objective or you will fall short.

This handbook is not meant to be a substitute for in-depth study, but instead provides the basic ingredients one needs to begin a Staff Ride without starting from scratch. It is organized with this introduction, followed by sections on chronology, biographies of important leaders and a complete order of battle. The heart of the book is the self-guided tour that provides specific instructions on how to get to important stops or "stands" as they relate to the battle. A visit to all of the stops in the guide will take about 8 ½ to 10 ½ hours. The stops contained here are those used during my unit's visit and should not discourage you from visiting other parts of the battlefield. Finally, the book includes sections on training for a Staff Ride and some administrative considerations in preparing for a visit to Yorktown.

As always, this project involved much work and assistance from many others. Primary credit must go to Dr. Lynn L. Sims, former command historian for the U.S. Army Combined Arms Support Command at Fort Lee, Virginia. Dr. Sims spent many years leading groups of soldiers to the battlefields of Virginia and he graciously provided me with many of his notes, materials and techniques for how to put this staff ride together. Since his materials formed the skeleton of my effort, this book is as much his as it is my own. In addition, the National Park staff at the Yorktown Visitor's Center provided a measure of guidance, advice and information on sources that proved valuable in study. Several personnel in my unit, the 4th Training Support Battalion (CS/CSS) Lee deserve thanks. SFC Tony Vaughn and SFC Eddie Cox served as my assistants during several advance trips to the battlefield to scout routes and ensure successful mission execution. Finally, I must thank my boss, LTC Hampton H. Hart, Jr., for allowing me to take time during my duties as battalion executive officer to undertake and complete this professionally worthwhile effort.

"History is the Soul of the United States Army"

Fort Lee, Virginia
November 1998

Steven J. Rauch
Major, Ordnance Corps

**PART I - CHRONOLOGY OF THE CAMPAIGN AND
BATTLE FOR YORKTOWN**

DATE	EVENT
1780	
7 April	Virginia capital moved from Williamsburg to Richmond
30 December	British force of 1,200 troops under command of traitor Brig. Gen. Benedict Arnold arrives in Chesapeake Bay to begin raid operations.
1781	
5 – 7 January	Arnold's force attacks Richmond and burns tobacco warehouses and private and public buildings.
20 – 27 January	Gen. George Washington quells mutiny of New Jersey troops, surrounding them with loyal troops and artillery. He executes two of the leaders, ending the revolt.
20 February	Congress appoints Robert Morris as Superintendent of Finance, thereby centralizing all expenditures for the war effort and improving supply efficiency of the Continental Army
15 March	Lt. Gen. Charles Cornwallis and Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Greene fight major battle at Guilford Courthouse, NC. Though British win, they lose 25% of their force; many to their own last ditch artillery fire. After, Cornwallis decides to withdraw to the seacoast toward Wilmington.
16 March	First Battle of the Virginia Capes between French and British fleets. French won a marginal victory, but still allowed the British to guard the bay and reinforce and resupply their forces in Virginia.
26 March	British Maj. Gen. William Phillips arrives in Virginia with 2,000 men.

25 April	British Army under command of Phillips defeats 1,000 Virginia militia defending Petersburg. Losses were less than 100 on each side and the British succeeded in destroying tobacco and shipping assets.
27 April	Arnold attacks militia at Osborne's Virginia, 15 miles below Richmond, and destroys a small flotilla of patriot ships in the Hampton Roads area.
29 April	Maj. Gen. Lafayette, sent by Washington with 1,200 Continentals, arrives in Richmond.
12 May	Cornwallis enters Virginia
13 May	Phillips dies of illness in Petersburg and Arnold assumes command of British forces
20-24 May	Cornwallis 1,500 man force joins Arnold at Petersburg. He assumes command of all British forces, now exceeding 7,000 men.
21-22 May	Generals Washington and Rochambeau met at Wethersfield Connecticut to plan joint operations for the summer. Initial plan calls for a siege and attack upon New York City.
27 May	Cornwallis attempts to outflank Lafayette at Richmond. Americans evacuate Richmond and withdraw to the North Anna river by 1 June.
3-4 June	Raids by Lt. Col. Tarleton and the British Legion into the interior of Virginia. Governor Thomas Jefferson and the General Assembly in Charlottesville, objects of the raid, escape capture by 250 mounted dragoons by mere minutes.
5 June	Raid by Lt. Col. Simcoe and the Queen's Rangers attack on the main American supply depot at Point of Fork on the James River, 45 miles above Richmond. A successful feint upon 500 continentals commanded by von Steuben results in the capture of 30 Americans and the destruction of many supplies.

10 June	Maj. Gen. Anthony Wayne sent by Washington to reinforce Lafayette with 1,000 Continentals.
11 June	Gen. Henry Clinton orders Cornwallis to assume defensive positions in Virginia and send some of his forces to New York to bolster defense there against Washington's Allied army.
26 June	British raid eastward toward Williamsburg, followed closely by Lafayette's force. Detachments of the two armies clash at Spencer's Ordinary, a tavern, with less than 50 casualties suffered on each side.
6 July	Wayne attacks what he thought was the rear guard of Cornwallis at Green Spring, near Jamestown. Instead, his 900 Continentals found themselves fighting 7,000 British regulars. Wayne quickly withdrew at a cost of 140 casualties, while the British lost 75 men. Rochambeau's army joins Washington's army at White Plains, New York.
9 – 24 July	From his base in Suffolk, Tarleton raids into western Virginia along south bank of the James River.
14 July	Cornwallis' army reaches Portsmouth
19 July	Washington and Rochambeau leave Newport
24 – 25 July	Cornwallis advised by engineers and naval advisors to reject Old Point Comfort as a base and move to Yorktown instead.
1 August	Cornwallis occupies Yorktown and Gloucester Point and develops area into the main British base in Virginia.
5 August	DeGrasse departs San Domingo for Chesapeake Bay.
15 August	Washington receives confirmation from DeGrasse that he will arrive in the Chesapeake at the end of August.
20 August	Washington begins moving his army south under the deception of attacking New York.

25 August	<p>Rochambeau's army joins the Continentals in New Jersey for movement to Virginia.</p> <p>Admiral Hood with British fleet sailing to West Indies, finds no French ships in Chesapeake Bay and continues to New York.</p>
26 August	DeGrasse arrives in Chesapeake Bay with a fleet of 34 warships and 3,000 soldiers from the West Indies
31 August	Admiral Graves and Admiral Hood leave New York City for Chesapeake Bay to engage French fleet.
2 September	3,000 French troops under command of St. Simon land near Williamsburg to reinforce Lafayette and fix the British forces in position at Yorktown.
5 September	Second Battle of the Capes fought between British and French fleets. French succeed in holding the bay and are reinforced by the fleet under de Barras. British fleet withdraws, unable to open sea lines of communication with Cornwallis.
6 September	Lead elements of Allied army arrive at Head of Elk, MD
10 September	Allied army begins embarking ships at Head of Elk for movement to Yorktown
14 September	Washington and Rochambeau reach Williamsburg. Confer with de Grasse to support siege against Cornwallis.
16 September	Cornwallis notifies Clinton that the Allied army has arrived, estimates that he can hold for six weeks.
18 - 26 September	Allied troops moving via ship transport to the James River and overland movement, assemble near Williamsburg.
23 September	Clinton receives Cornwallis' letter of 16 September. Holds council of war with Graves to begin a relief expedition to sail 5 October.
28 September	Allies march to Yorktown

29/30 September	Cornwallis abandons outer defense works based on news from Clinton to await for relief.
1 October – 6 October	Allies prepare for siege operations
2 October	Allied siege guns and supplies from Head of Elk arrive but lack of transport slows operations.
3 October	About four miles from Gloucester, a foraging party under Tarleton engages the French cavalry under Lauzun. After skirmishing, French are reinforced by Virginia militia under Mercer and block further British movement. A formal siege of Gloucester begins and blocks any British movement using that route into Virginia.
6/7 October	Allies begin work on the first parallel; French conduct diversionary attacks on British right flank
9 October	French and American batteries open the bombardment phase of the siege at 1500 hours
10/11 October	Fire from French batteries sets British frigate <i>Charon</i> and three transports on fire on the York River
11/12 October	Second parallel opened
14/15 October	American and French night assault on redoubts 9 and 10 successfully capture the important battlefield positions.
15 October	Second parallel completed; British conduct night sortie into Allied lines. Cornwallis writes Clinton about his desperate situation.
16/17 October	British attempt to escape to Gloucester, but fail due to poor weather.
17 October	Cornwallis requests a cessation of hostilities
18 October	Commissioners discuss surrender terms

19 October	British army surrenders to Allied army @1500 hours Cornwallis does not attend the ceremony and Brig. Gen. O'Hara is forced to surrender to Maj. Gen. Lincoln. Graves' fleet with Clinton's relief force sails from New York to Yorktown
21 October	Prisoners of war leave Yorktown for camps in Virginia and Maryland
27 October	British relief force arrives in Chesapeake. Learns of Cornwallis' surrender.
29 October	Congress passes a victory resolution; authorizes a monument to the Victory be erected on the battlefield.
4 November	Cornwallis departs Yorktown
19 November	Cornwallis arrives in New York
25 November	News of surrender arrives in London at noon. Germain informs Prime Minister Lord North of the defeat.
13 December	Congress recognizes that Yorktown victory is decisive culminating point of the war and British move to negotiate peace. Proclaims this day as day of thanksgiving and prayer.
23 December	British Cabinet decides to recall Clinton from America.
1782	
27 February	British House of Commons, with an 18-vote majority, urges King George III to end war with American colonies.
27 September	Peace negotiations begin in Paris.
30 November	Draft peace treaty signed in Paris

1783	
4 February	Britain proclaims end of hostilities with United States
11 April	Congress declares end to hostilities with Great Britain
19 April	At 1200 hours, Washington orders a cease – fire for all troops
3 September	Final peace treaty signed in Paris
25 November	British army evacuates New York City
23 December	Washington resigns commission as commander – in – chief.

PART II - SELECTED BIOGRAPHIES

AMERICAN

Brown, William: (? - ?); from Stamford, CT; farmer. In 1775, Brown enlisted as a corporal into the 5th Connecticut Regiment. By 1781 he had attained the rank of sergeant and would serve until the conclusion of the war. On May 3, 1783, Brown received the Badge of Military Merit, the Revolution's equivalent to the Medal of Honor (shaped like a heart and made of purple cloth) during a formal ceremony at Continental Army headquarters at Newburgh, NY. Only three men received this decoration during the war. Brown was cited in part for his role as a sergeant in Captain Samuel Comstock's company of the 5th Connecticut during the attack on Redoubt 10, where he was wounded in the hand by a bayonet. His citation read in part that he "conducted a forlorn hope with great bravery, propriety and deliberate firmness."

Duportail, Louis: (1743-1802); b. Pithiviers, France; professional soldier. A 1761 graduate of the Mezieres engineer school. Lt. Col. Duportail was a rising star in his native army when the French Minister of War personally picked him in 1777 to lead a detail of four engineers officially "loaned" to the Continental Army to fulfill a request from ambassador Benjamin Franklin. Upon arrival in Philadelphia, Duportail received an initial commission as a Colonel and had his appointment as senior engineer in the Army confirmed by Congress. He impressed Washington with his no-nonsense professionalism and won promotion to brigadier general in 1778 and to major general as a reward for his performance at Yorktown. In 1780 he had been sent to Charleston to assist in that city's defense, but arrived there just in time to be captured. At the conclusion of the Revolution he resumed his career in the French Army, attaining general officer rank and in November 1790 became Minister of War. In 1792 he was forced to flee to escape the Guillotine of the French Revolution and settled in Pennsylvania as a farmer. Napoleon recalled him for duty in 1802, but Duportail died at sea enroute to France.

Hamilton, Alexander: (1757 –1804); b. Nevis, British West Indies; lawyer. Raised in the Danish Virgin Islands, Hamilton came to America to attend King's College (Columbia University). At the outbreak of the war, Hamilton briefly joined a militia company then he quit school to accept a commission as captain and raise the New York Provincial Artillery Company (today's 1st Battalion, 5th Field Artillery). In 1776, Hamilton led his unit through the New York and Trenton-Princeton campaigns. In March 1777, Washington selected him to serve as an aide de camp, a move that brought him promotion to lieutenant colonel. Hamilton left the Army headquarters staff in early 1781, but was given command of a provisional light infantry battalion in Lafayette's division for the Yorktown campaign. He commanded the American assault force at Redoubt 10. After Yorktown, Hamilton served four years in the Continental Congress, six as the first Secretary of the Treasury, and from 1798-1800 served as the Army's Inspector General. He was a signer of the Constitution of the United States. Hamilton was killed in a duel with Aaron Burr on 11 July 1804.

Knox, Henry: (1750-1806); b. Boston, MA; bookseller, investor. A self-taught artilleryman, Knox joined the Continental Army in 1775 as a volunteer and became the commander of the Army's artillery in 1776. He was commissioned as a colonel, promoted to brigadier general in 1777, and in 1782, explicitly as a reward for his role at Yorktown, to major general. After Washington's resignation, Knox became the Army's ranking officer during the last phase of demobilization, and later became the Secretary of War under both the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution.

Lafayette, Marie, marquis de: (1757-1843); b. Auvergne, France; aristocrat and soldier. A French noble, he received his first commission in 1771 at the age of thirteen, but by 1776 was left as a cavalry captain without duty assignment. The following year he volunteered to join the Americans without pay, a move which Congress welcomed not because he had any military skill, but rather because he was the son-in-law of one of Louis XVI's closest advisors. Congress gave him a commission as major general without a command, an act that led to frustration on many American officers, such as Benedict Arnold. Lafayette became one of Washington's closest associates and quickly demonstrated considerable natural ability as a leader and combat commander. He joined the main army for the battle of Brandywine (where he was wounded) and on several occasions, Washington used him as a liaison officer to the French. In early 1781, Washington sent him to take command of Continental light infantry forces in Virginia and he commanded a division at Yorktown. After the war, Lafayette played a prominent role in the liberal nobility's support for the early years of the French Revolution, organized the National Guard of Paris, and commanded one of France's main field armies. In 1824, Lafayette returned to the U.S. to take a grand tour of the scenes of his youthful success and meet with old friends. During the course of his career, he had donated \$200,000 dollars of his own money to support the liberal causes for freedom.

Lincoln, Benjamin: (1733-1810); b. Hingham, MA; farmer. A militia colonel who mobilized his regiment on the day of the battles of Lexington and Concord, Lincoln also served in the revolutionary legislature of Massachusetts. In 1776 he became a major general in the militia and transferred to the Continental Army in 1777, gaining his first active duty experience during the Saratoga campaign. Lincoln's skills working with civilian governments and militia forces prompted Congress to appoint him as the Commanding General of the Southern Department in September 1778. He led the Americans in the abortive 1779 siege of Savannah, GA and in actions around Charleston, SC. After a gallant defense of that city, he surrendered his army to Clinton and Cornwallis on 12 May 1780, the worst defeat the Continentals suffered in the Revolution. Lincoln was exchanged in time to serve as the senior division commander at Yorktown. A month after Yorktown Lincoln became the first Secretary of War. He later helped to suppress Shays' Rebellion (1786 - 1787) and served a term as the lieutenant governor of Massachusetts.

Martin, Joseph P: (1760 – 1850) b. Becket, MA; farmer. Enlisted as a private in a Connecticut regiment at the age of sixteen, discharged after six months duty and returned home. Martin was drawn back to service and fighting for independence, and on April 12, 1777 he enlisted in the Continental Army, where he remained as a regular until the army was disbanded in 1783. In 1778, he transferred to the Connecticut light infantry due to his height and ability. Martin transferred again in 1780 to the Corps of Sappers and Miners where he was promoted to Corporal in 1781. By the end of the war he had attained the rank of sergeant, having served in all the major campaigns during his enlistment. After the war, he moved to Maine and returned to farming. He sold his hundred-acre land bounty for war service to a land speculator and was never able to achieve financial wealth. By 1818 he was destitute and applied for the pension of eight dollars a month granted by Congress for needy veterans. By then he had a wife, who was sickly, and five children. His first child, Joseph appears to have been mentally retarded and the next oldest children were twins. Congress granted him a pension and with his small income as a town clerk, he was able to support his family. At some point he taught himself literacy and writing, and became an avid reader of the classics and history. Near the age of seventy, he wrote what many consider to be the best first hand account of a Revolutionary soldier called *Private Yankee Doodle: Being a Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers, and Sufferings of a Revolutionary Soldier*. Martin died on May 2, 1850.

Nelson, Thomas: (1739 -1789) Nelson succeeded Jefferson as governor of Virginia in June 1781, and commanded its militia during the Yorktown campaign. Initially moderate, he increasingly supported Patrick Henry and became colonel of the 2nd Virginia Regiment in 1775, before resigning to take Washington's place in Congress. Although an overweight asthmatic, he was still able to actively command Virginia's armed forces from 1777, organizing the defense against British raids. Personally bankrupted by his support for the war (he aimed a cannon at his own house during the siege), he was buried in an unmarked grave to avoid creditors taking his body as security.

Steuben, Frederick ("Baron von"): (1730-1794); b. Magdeburg, Prussia; professional soldier. A veteran of seventeen years' service in the army of Frederick the Great and a captain on the personal staff of that general during the Seven Years' War, Steuben was involuntarily retired during the demobilization of 1764 and forced to seek employment as a civil official in a minor German state. In 1777 the French government put him in touch with Benjamin Franklin and he decided to offer his services to the Continental Army. Upon arriving at Valley Forge in early 1778, Steuben quickly demonstrated his considerable organizational and training skills and was named, at Washington's request, as Inspector General with the rank of major general. After a brief, unsuccessful, stint as an independent commander in Virginia the previous winter, he commanded a division at Yorktown. During the siege of Yorktown, he provided first hand expertise on siege warfare based upon his experience in Europe. His Regulations issued in 1779 remained standard Army doctrine until the end of the War of 1812 and were French in orientation, not Prussian as is commonly asserted. Discharged from the Army in 1784, he lived his final years in New York penniless and destitute.

Washington, George: (1732-1799); b. Westmoreland County, VA; planter. As a younger man, his interests were in the military arts and western expansion, doing early work as a surveyor. His military service began at the age of 20 when he accepted an appointment as a regional adjutant (training officer) for the Virginia militia, but quickly moved to full-time duty with the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1754. As lieutenant colonel and subsequently colonel he commanded Virginia's Provincial regiments in that struggle, distinguishing himself for gallantry in Braddock's Defeat (1755) and commanding a brigade in the 1758 campaign that captured Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh). After gaining valuable experience in the Virginia colonial legislature, Washington represented his colony in the Continental Congress until that body unanimously elected him as General and Commander in Chief on 15 June 1775. He remained on duty until 3 December 1783, holding the war effort together and demonstrating a remarkable capacity for leadership - and refusing to use his popularity and power to seize control of the nation from the elected civilian leaders. In 1787 he presided over the Constitutional Convention, and spent eight years (1789 – 97) as first President of the United States. In 1798 he came out of retirement and served as the Army's ranking officer until his death in 1799.

Wayne, Anthony: (1745 – 1796); b. Lancaster County, PA; farmer, merchant. A protege of Benjamin Franklin, he joined the Army in 1776 by raising the 4th Pennsylvania Battalion and commanded it during the campaign in Canada. Promoted to brigadier general in 1777, he served in the main army's campaigns through 1780, frequently as an acting division commander and earning a reputation as an aggressive combat leader. His leadership reached a pinnacle in 1779 when he commanded a provisional division of light infantry during a successful nighttime bayonet attack on the British outpost at Stony Point. In January 1781, the Pennsylvania troops mutinied over unfilled promises forcing a major reorganization of the state's contingent. Wayne led the provisionally reformed regiments to Virginia to reinforce Lafayette in the spring, and, after Yorktown, moved them down to Greene's army in Georgia and South Carolina. He briefly represented Georgia in the House of Representatives before receiving an appointment as Commanding General of the Army in 1792. He won the first important victory of the nation's westward expansion at Fallen Timbers in 1794 and negotiated the subsequent Treaty of Greenville that opened the Northwest Territory to full American settlement.

FRENCH

Gallatin, Gaspard de: (? - ?); b. Switzerland; Served as an officer of the Swiss Guard of Louis XVI in the Grenadier Company of the Royal-Deux-Ponts regiment. Gallatin was a Swiss nobleman and cousin of Albert Gallatin, the American Minister to France in 1816. During the battle of Yorktown he kept a journal of the events which provided a detailed chronology of his regiments movement and action.

Grasse, Francois, Comte de: (1722-1788); b. Bar-sur-Loup, France; professional sailor. Joined the French navy in 1740 at the age of eighteen and attained the rank of captain by 1762. He was captured by the British navy in 1747 and learned valuable insight into their operations during stay in England. DeGrasse won notice as a "captain of the first distinction" in the important Squadron of Evolutions (1772), leading to promotion to Commodore in 1778. Between 1778 and late 1780 he commanded the *Robuste* (74 guns) in the West Indies, where he returned in the spring of 1781 as a rear admiral. Following the Yorktown campaign, de Grasse moved his fleet back to the West Indies, but six months after his greatest triumph he was defeated by Rodney in the Battle of the Saints and captured again. Losing the favor of Louis XVI, he was ordered by the king to return to his native province and live in seclusion and silence.

Rochambeau, Jean, Comte de: (1725-1807); b. Vendome, France; professional soldier. A career officer from the lesser provincial nobility, Rochambeau rose to the rank of colonel by age 32 at the conclusion of the War of Austrian Succession, and brigadier general during the Seven Years' War that followed. In the early years of the Revolution, he participated in maneuvers and mobilizations along the Atlantic coast. He spoke no English, nor had any knowledge of America when, in 1780, he was placed in command of the expeditionary force sent to Rhode Island to cooperate with Washington. His professionalism, ability, and deference to Washington did much to repair the damage to American/French relations caused by previous commanders. He served as overall French commander at Yorktown. By the opening years of the French Revolution he had risen to the rank of marshal of France, but resigned in 1792 to protest extremist policies. Although arrested, he escaped the guillotine, and finished his life as a private citizen.

BRITISH

Clinton, Sir Henry: (1738-1795); professional soldier. One of three major generals sent to America in 1775 and succeeded Sir William Howe as commander-in-chief in North America in 1778. His talents in the field were often clouded by an inability to give clear orders and a sensitivity to criticism. Plagued by the failings of his own subordinates, government interference and some appalling bad luck, Clinton offered his resignation several times but it was never accepted. In addition, he had the specter of a 'dormant commission' of Cornwallis to succeed him as commander-in-chief hanging over his head, if he displeased London. Clinton increasingly felt it was appropriate to make recommendations or requests to Cornwallis rather than give direct orders. Clinton reportedly had a better grasp of the realities of operations in North America than many contemporaries although he failed to see, until too late, how vulnerable isolated posts and corps could be if the enemy had local naval superiority. He also labored under the handicap of being expected to achieve as much as his predecessor, but with fewer troops, decreasing support from the Royal Navy, and increasing intervention by the French. Though widely blamed for the loss of Yorktown, he was refused an inquiry to clear his name. He served as a member of Parliament from 1772 to 1784, was made a general in 1793, and was Governor of Gibraltar when he died in 1795.

Cornwallis, Charles, earl: (1738-1805); b. London, England; professional soldier. Educated at Eton and Cambridge, he received his first commission in 1756 and by the end of the Seven Years' War had risen to the rank of lieutenant colonel, serving mostly in Germany, and to major general in the decade that followed. He also held a seat in the House of Commons (1760-62) before inheriting his title in 1762 and moving to the House of Lords. Although opposed to the Ministry's colonial policies regarding America prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, he accepted assignment to serve in America, attaining a reputation as an aggressive commander during the campaigning around New York and Philadelphia. After the capture of Charleston in May 1780, he was placed in overall command of the Royal forces in the south. He defeated Gates at Camden (16 August 1780), but had much difficulty trying to defeat Greene, many times at great cost to his own army. At Guilford Court House (15 March 1781), Cornwallis lost almost 25% of his army, at one time firing his cannon into his own troops to secure victory. Following Guilford, he set the stage for the Yorktown campaign by moving operations into Virginia. He is better remembered in Britain for his subsequent success as Governor-General of India (1786-93) that won him promotion to full general and elevation in the peerage to marquis. He also held the office of Master General of Ordnance and Viceroy of Ireland.

Ewald, Johann (later von): (1744-1813); b. Cassel, Germany; professional soldier. Joined the Hesse-Cassel army at age sixteen, Ewald first saw action in the Seven Years' War and by 1776 had reached the rank of captain. He lost an eye in a barroom brawl, but in 1774 published the first of many military treatises, focusing primarily on the employment of light troops. Although only a minor officer, Ewald enjoyed considerable British trust, largely earned through demonstrated skill as a skirmisher. Frequently passed over for promotion, he finally quit the Hessian army in 1788 and joined the Danish forces. In 1790 he became a member of the Danish nobility and ended his career as a major general. He retired from active duty after 53 years' service only two months before his death.

Graves, Thomas: (1725 – 1802); b. in England; professional sailor. A lieutenant in the Royal Navy by eighteen, Graves rose relatively rapidly, becoming a captain in 1755, and rear admiral in 1779. Beginning in 1778, he led squadrons in American and Caribbean waters, having just become naval commander at New York when the Yorktown campaign started. He returned to England from the West Indies in 1782, losing nearly 3500 men in a terrible storm. Badly wounded in 1793, he retired the next year with the rank of full admiral and an Irish peerage.

Hood, Samuel: (1724 – 1816); b. in England; professional sailor. Entered the Royal Navy in 1741 and received a midshipman's rating two years later. Hood won distinction as a frigate commander during the Seven Years' War and commanded the North American squadron as a commodore in 1767. Appointed rear admiral in 1780, he led a reinforcing squadron to the West Indies where he served under Rodney in the capture of St. Eustatius. Hood had a reputation as a temperamental but skilled tactician, and won a peerage for his role in the 1782 victory at the Saints. He commanded the Mediterranean squadron in 1793, became a full admiral the following year, and in 1796 became a viscount.

O'Hara, Charles: (1740 – 1802); b. in Ireland; professional soldier. Illegitimate son of a field marshal (Baron Tyrawley), Charles was the third generation of his family to attain the rank of general officer. He was educated at Westminster and received his first commission as an ensign at the age of eleven, serving in Germany and Portugal under his father during the Seven Years' War. From 1766 to 1776 he was governor of the colony of Senegambia and commander of its garrison regiment, *His Majesty's African Corps of Foot*. Between 1777 and 1779 he saw action in North America in the provisional brigade formed by detachments from the Grenadier Guards, Coldstream Guards, and Scots Guards. He returned for a second tour, this time as its brigadier in October 1780. O'Hara represented Cornwallis at the formal surrender ceremony because he was the second ranking British officer in the Yorktown garrison. He subsequently saw service during the Napoleonic Wars, including action at Toulon in 1793 where he was wounded and captured. He rose to full general in 1798 and his defense of Gibraltar won him the nickname "Old Cock of the Rock."

Tarleton, Banastre: (1754-1833); b. Liverpool, England; professional soldier. Entered the British Army as a cornet in 1775 and volunteered the same year for duty in America. He saw action in the campaigns around New York and Philadelphia. A talented cavalryman, he was named in 1778 to lead one of the elite Loyalist units, the British Legion, a combined arms force. He achieved his greatest fame during the southern campaigns under Cornwallis, where he frequently commanded the light troops and was particularly ruthless in pursuit actions (earning the nickname "Butcher" after the skirmish at Waxhaws, SC). His one independent command ended in disaster at Cowpens, SC (17 January 1781) when he was defeated by Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan's special task force. During the siege of Yorktown, he was stationed in Gloucester. After the Revolution he returned to England, held a seat in Parliament (1790-1806), rose to the rank of general (1812), and became a baronet in 1815.

PART III - ORDER OF BATTLE: ALLIED FORCES¹

(Organization of the Allied Forces at Yorktown commanded
by General George Washington)

Commander – in – Chief, Allied Forces
General George Washington

<u>UNITS</u>	<u>STRENGTH</u>
Headquarters Troops and General Staff	14
Regiment of Dragoons/4 th Legionary Corps, Col. Stephen Moylan	60
Armand's Legion (Detachment) 1 st Partisan Corps ²	<u>40</u>
	114

AMERICAN WING³

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln (Acting Commander)

Continental Light Infantry Division
Maj. Gen. Marquis de Lafayette

¹A definitive order of battle is difficult to determine and has been compiled from many sources. Henry Johnston published an extensive order of battle but stated that the absence of official rolls made all his numbers only "approximately" correct. Henry Lumpkin appears to have copied Johnston's numbers verbatim, however poor proofreading allowed some mistakes to make their way into print. Brendan Morrissey, a British author, noted the distinction between officers and other ranks in his order of battle, indicating he may have had detailed information to break it down to that level. In addition, Morrissey's numbers, when added together, come closer to estimates of prisoner reports and accounts by participants. As such, I believe his numbers best reflect the actual number of soldiers employed by the opposing forces.

²This unit was commanded by Lt. Col. Charles Armand Tuffin, a French volunteer in the category of Lafayette. Armand's Legion was a unique unit composed of German volunteers, German prisoners of war, and even German deserters. Eventually, American Continental soldiers became part of the ranks but it was always lead by French officers and known for its ill-discipline among the army.

³The Allied force was divided into two Corps, or Wings, with an American Wing and French Wing. Although Washington was the commander-in-chief, he also held the position as commander of the American forces. In order to allow himself to operate as head of the allied force, he appointed Maj. Gen. Lincoln, the senior American division commander to serve as the nominal head of the American wing during the battle.

1st Brigade
Brig. Gen. Peter Muhlenberg

1 st Battalion (Prov), Col. Joseph Vose ⁴	309
2d Battalion (Prov), Lt. Col. Gimat ⁵	300
3d Battalion (Prov), Lt. Col. Francis Barber ⁶	<u>353</u>
	962

2nd Brigade
Brevet Brig. Gen. Moses Hazen⁷

1 st Battalion (Prov), Lt. Col. Ebenezer Huntington ⁸	378
2d Battalion (Prov), Lt. Col. Alexander Hamilton	247
3d Battalion (Prov), Lt. Col. John Laurens	***
Canadian Regiment, Lt. Col. Edward Antill ⁹	<u>267</u>
	892

Lincoln's Continental Division
Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln

Clinton's Brigade
Brig. Gen. James Clinton

1 st New York Regiment, Col. Goose Van Schaick	391
2d New York Regiment, Col. Philip Van Cortlandt	<u>421</u>
	812

⁴Light companies from 8 Massachusetts regiments.

⁵Light companies from 5 Connecticut, 2 Massachusetts, and the Rhode Island regiments.

⁶Light companies from 2 New Jersey, 2 New Hampshire, and the Canadian regiments.

⁷Moses Hazen was a Canadian and commander of the 2nd Canadian regiment. He was appointed a Brevet (honorary) rank of Brigadier General to command this brigade.

⁸The 1st and 3rd battalion had composed a regiment under Colonel Scammell, who was wounded and later died after his capture by the British. The regiment was divided by general orders on 8 October 1781.

⁹Also known as Hazen's regiment. Composed of Canadian volunteers, mostly of French background. By 1781, all foreigners serving in the Continental Army were assigned to the regiment (Armand's Legion excepted). It also included some men from Maryland and Connecticut who had been assigned in 1777.

Dayton's Brigade
Col. Elias Dayton

1 st and 2 nd New Jersey Regiments (Combined), Col. Matthias Ogden ¹⁰	324
Rhode Island Regiment, Lt. Col. Jeremiah Olney	<u>359</u>
	683

Steuben's Continental Division
Maj. Gen. Baron von Steuben

Wayne's Brigade
Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne

1 st Pennsylvania Battalion (Prov), Col. Walter Stewart	286
2d Pennsylvania Battalion (Prov), Lt. Col. Josiah Harmar ¹¹	310
Virginia Battalion (Prov), Lt. Col. Thomas Gaskins	<u>375</u>
	971

Gist's Brigade
Brig. Gen. Mordecai Gist

3d Maryland Regiment, Lt. Col. Peter Adams	431
4 th Maryland Regiment, Maj. Alexander Roxburg	<u>450</u>
	881

Corps of Sappers and Miners

New York Detachment, Capt. James Gilliland	50
Connecticut Detachment, Capt. David Bushnell	**
Delaware Recruits, Capt. William McKennan	<u>60</u>
	110

Artillery Brigade
Brig. Gen. Henry Knox

2 nd Continental Regiment (Lamb's), Col. John Lamb	225
1 st Continental Regiment (Harrison's)(Detach), Lt. Col. Edward Carrington	25
4 th Continental Regiment (Proctor's) (Detach), Capts. Patrick Duffy,	<u>60</u>
William Ferguson, James Smith	310

¹⁰Consolidated on 8 October 1781 as a single regiment.

¹¹A third Pennsylvania battalion, commanded by Col. Craig arrived as operations were concluding. Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair also arrived but did not play a role in operations.

Virginia Militia
Maj. Gen. Thomas Nelson (Governor of Virginia)

1 st Brigade, Brig. Gen. George Weedon ¹²	1500
2 nd Brigade, Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson	750
3 rd Brigade, Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens	750
Virginia State Regiment, Lt. Col. Dabney ¹³	<u>200</u>
	3200

¹²This unit served at Gloucester Point. It included Lt. Col. John Mercer's battalion, which fought in the action on October 3 against Tarleton's Legion.

¹³State regiments were not continentals or militia, but were unique in their existence. These were usually raised primarily to defend the state, paid and equipped by the state, served for a period longer than militia, and took orders only from the state governor.

FRENCH WING

Commander French Forces

Lt. Gen. Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Count de Rochambeau

Headquarters Troops	30
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Maj. Gen. Baron de Viomenil's Division

Brigade Bourbonnois

Regiment Bourbonnois, Col. Marquis de Laval	900
---	-----

Regiment Royal Deuxponts, Col. Count de Deuxponts	900
---	-----

Maj. Gen. Vicomte de Viomenil's Division

Brigade Soissonois

Regiment Soissonis, Col. Marquis de St. Maime	900
---	-----

Regiment Saintonge, Col. Marquis de Custine	900
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Maj. Gen. Marquis de St. Simon's Division¹⁴

Brigade Agenois

Regiment Agenois, Col. Marquis d'Audechamp	1,000
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Regiment Gatenois, Col. Marquis de Rostaing	1,000
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Regiment Touraine, Col. Viscount de Pondeus ¹⁵	1,000
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Cavalry *Duke de Lauzun*

Lauzun's Legion ¹⁶	600
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¹⁴Includes 50 hussars and over 100 volunteers forming a light infantry unit of French colonial troops. Also included in this division is a unit called the Belzunce Dragoons as a headquarters security force. The French regiments of Agenois, Getanois, and Touraine are those St. Simon brought with him from the West Indies as part of De Grasse's fleet.

¹⁵This unit was not brigaded.

¹⁶This unit served at Gloucester Point and engaged Tarlton, along with Weedon's Virginia militia 3 October 1781.

Artillery
Col. Commandant d'Aboville

2d Battalion, Auxonne Regiment	600
Detachment, Metz Regiment	70

Naval Troops (de Grasse)

Marines and Ships Garrisons	800
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MUSTER OF ALLIED FORCES ENGAGED

CONTINENTAL	5,735
FRENCH	8,700
MILITIA	<u>3,200</u>
TOTAL	17,635

<u>CASUALTIES</u>	<u>AMERICAN</u> ¹⁷	<u>FRENCH</u> ¹⁸	<u>TOTAL</u>
KILLED	27	60	87
WOUNDED	63	199	262
POW/MISSING	<u>----</u>	<u>----</u>	<u>----</u>
TOTAL	90	259	349

¹⁷Includes Continentals and Militia. These numbers obtained from a return of casualties by Edward Hand, Adjutant General of the American Army and cover the period 28 September to 14 October. They match closely to the numbers contained in Dr. Thatcher's account of the operation.

¹⁸Figures noted in Gallatin's Journal. The inclusive dates of these casualties is 1 October to 17 October 1781.

PART IV - ORDER OF BATTLE: BRITISH FORCES

(Organization of the British Forces at Yorktown commanded
by Lt. Gen. Charles Lord Cornwallis)

Commander – in – Chief, British Forces
Lt. Gen. Charles Lord Cornwallis

<u>UNITS</u>	<u>STRENGTH</u>
Headquarters Troops	92
17 th Light Dragoons	<u>24</u>
	116

BRITISH ARMY

Brigade of Guards
Brig. Gen. Charles O'Hara

1 st Battalion	538
2 nd Battalion	**

Light Infantry Brigade
Lt. Col. Robert Abercrombie

1 st Battalion, (Companies from 4, 15, 17, 23, 27, 33, 38 Regts)	445
2 nd Battalion, (Companies from 37, 40, 43, 45, 49, 55, 63, 71 Regts)	342
82 nd Foot Company	<u>39</u>
	826

Yorke's Brigade
Lt. Col. John Yorke

17 th Rgt. of Foot, Lt. Col. Henry Johnson	246
23d Rgt. of Foot, Capt. Apthorpe	244
33d Rgt. of Foot, Lt. Col. John Yorke	276
2/71 st Rgt. of Foot (Highland Scots), Lt. Col. Duncan MacPherson	<u>321</u>
	1087

Dundas's Brigade
Lt. Col. Thomas Dundas

43d Rgt. of Foot, Maj. George Hewitt	381
76 th Rgt. of Foot, Maj. Francis Needham ¹⁹	721
80 th Rgt. of Foot, Lt. Col. Thomas Dundas	<u>700</u>
	1802

¹⁹This unit and the 80th Foot had their grenadier and light companies attached.

*Royal Artillery*²⁰

Company, Capt. George Rochfort	237
Company, Capt. Lt. Edward Fage	**
Pioneers	42
Marines	840

GERMAN MERCENARIES

Anspach-Bayreuth Contingent

Co. August von Voight

Anspach Regiment, Col. De Voit ²¹	545
Bayreuth Regiment, Col. De Seybothen	532
Artillery Company	<u>44</u>
	1121

Hesse-Kassel Contingent

Lt. Col. Matthew von Fuchs

Hessian Regiment Prince Hereditaire, Lt. Col. Matthew de Fuchs	516
Hessian Regiment of Bose, Maj. O'Reilly	377
Hessian FeldJagers (Riflemen), Capt. Johann Ewald	72
Artillery Company	<u>51</u>
	1016

²⁰The artillery manned 65 guns in 14 batteries, including naval guns.

²¹These units still had their grenadier companies attached.

PROVINCIAL FORCES²²

North Carolina Volunteers, Lt. Col. John Hamilton	144
Queen's Rangers (horse and foot), Lt. Col. J. Graves Simcoe	320
British Legion (horse and foot), Lt. Col. Banastre Tarlton	<u>241</u>
	705

MUSTER OF FORCES ENGAGED

BRITISH ²³	5,488
GERMAN	2,137
PROVINCIAL	<u>705</u>
TOTAL	8,330

CASUALTIES²⁴

Killed	= 156
Wounded	= 326
Missing	= 70
Prisoners	= 7,157 plus 840 sailors and 80 camp followers

²²These units served for the most part at Gloucester Point.

²³Includes Marine contingent.

²⁴Adding killed, missing, and prisoners (without camp followers) from 28 September to 19 October, the total equals 8,223. Of the various casualty figures published, these appear to be the most consistent with the order of battle numbers and rely upon the return compiled by Maj. John Despard, Deputy adjutant for the British Army.

PART V - SUGGESTED ROUTES AND STOPS

Introduction

The following section contains the heart of this battlefield guide, a suggested route with stops to interpret the events of the Battle of Yorktown. This is not intended to be the only route, but includes the important sites I believe can be visited during a long training day. The general sequence of the route covers the movement of the Allies to the battlefield, the development of the British defense, the Allied siege effort and bombardment, the assault on the redoubts, the surrender events and finally a wrap up to conclude the study. There are several other areas of the battlefield that can be visited, such as the Moore House or the vast area I call the Logistics Support Area found on the Yellow Tour provided by the National Park Service. The time and limitations of developing this guide have prohibited the inclusion of those areas now, but they may appear in future editions of this guide.

This section of the guidebook includes directions, maps, and first person vignettes for a Staff Ride to Yorktown that can be completed in one day. Depending upon how you arrive to the Williamsburg/Yorktown area, the study can be completed in about eight to ten hours. There are a total of 16 stops or stands located on various parts of the battlefield. Each stop in the book notes various study points regarding the events that occurred on or near that site. Most importantly, the description of the events is provided by the participants of the battle by using their words as they recorded them in diaries, journals, or other means. I believe this method is most effective to gain an in-depth understanding of the events of history through those that once lived, fought, and perhaps, died on the ground where you are standing.

There are several historical maps included at appropriate places in the guide, and the map on the following page shows the stands by number and suggested order. If possible, it is suggested that you obtain the ADC street map book of the Virginia Peninsula that contains detailed pages of streets and roads of the area. In addition, the National Park services sells a 1:25,000 scale topographic map of Colonial National Historical Park for \$4.00. That map also includes a 1930 – 1931 U.S. Geological Survey of the battlefield in 1:10,000 scale with depictions of the trench lines and other features important to the battle. Armed with those maps and this guide, you should have no problem getting to the right locations.

Some other notes regarding use of this section. The first two stops of the route are not part of the National Park Service property, and as such, access to the public is limited. Stop #1 is on property belonging to the Carter's Grove Plantation, but access to the site is gained from the Williamsburg Waste Treatment Plant. Both agencies are receptive to granting access for brief use (about one hour) by organized military groups, but not for private individuals or tours. The intention of including this stop in the guide is to show how significant areas relating to military operations are not all contained in public holdings and how much still remains in private hands. Before attempting to visit this location, you must receive permission to do so. If you are granted permission,

ensure your group follows strict standards of conduct to ensure this important historical site is available for others to use.

The other stop that does not belong to the NPS is the Endview Plantation site on the road to Yorktown. This site is not necessarily restricted since it is located off a main road on the way to Yorktown. There is a small pull-off from the road with a historical painting and marker that interprets the site. This locally supported historical site hosts many events, most notably Civil War reenactments.

Another caution regards vehicles. For those using cars or vans, there is no restriction on access to the park roads or routes to Yorktown. You must be aware that there are many one-way streets in Yorktown and designated on the battlefield. If you use caution and the battlefield tour map provided by the NPS, you will have no difficulties. If your group is using a bus, you must consider several things. First, the route along Crawford does have one overpass that may prohibit large vehicles. Unless the bus height is unusually large, then it should not pose a problem. Second, navigation through Yorktown streets is limited by one-way roads and narrow lanes. Most tour busses should follow the route prescribed in the guide and have no problem. A good place to have the bus park while the group is walking near the town is at the visitor center parking lot or in the park near the river as indicated on the maps. Finally, when moving from the redoubt position to the surrender field, a bus cannot take the direct route used by automobiles. Consult with the NPS for using the road from the visitors center (route 238 to route 704) and then follow the red signs towards surrender field.

During your visit, do not climb or walk on the earthworks and redoubts that have been painstakingly reconstructed. Use only designated pathways to avoid damaging the remnants of this great battlefield.

[illegible]

BATTLEFIELD ROUTE AND STOPS

TRAVEL TO YORKTOWN VIA SR5 (JOHN TYLER MEM. HWY). IN WILLIAMSBURG TURN RIGHT ON RT. 199. TAKE RT. 199 TO U.S. RT. 60. STAY ON RT. 60 UNTIL YOU PASS BUSCH GARDENS. SHORTLY AFTER BUSCH GARDENS, LOOK FOR RON SPRINGS RD ON THE RIGHT. THERE IS AN OLD GAS STATION ON THE CORNER. TURN RIGHT ONTO RON SPRINGS. TRAVEL DOWN THIS ROAD UNTIL IT BEARS TO THE RIGHT. CONTINUE FOLLOWING ROAD UNTIL YOU ENTER THE WILLIAMSBURG WASTE TREATMENT PLANT ON LOG CABIN BEACH ROAD. ENTER THE PLANT AND GO TO THE BACK BEHIND THE HQ BLDG. AT THE END OF THE ROAD IS A FENCE AND ACCESS TO THE BEACH. DISMOUNT BUS AND WALK DOWN ROAD (OR STAIRS) TO THE BEACH.

NOTE!!!! – THIS IS A RESTRICTED ACCESS AREA. PERMISSION FOR ACCESS MUST BE OBTAINED FROM THE WILLIAMSBURG WASTE TREATMENT PLANT AND CARTER'S GROVE PLANTATION.

STOP #1: TREBELL'S LANDING

ESTIMATED TIME AT THIS STOP = 45 min – 1 hour.

Points to Discuss:

1. Water movement of troops, supplies, and equipment to this location.¹
 - Ships/boats took about **18 days** to make the trip from Elkton MD due to adverse weather and had a shortage of food. Distance about 400 miles.
 - 28 Sept – Col. Lamb informed Knox that after “sounding” the river, he chose Trebell's Landing as the best place to land, although the artificers needed to build bridges.
 - Trebell's landing located ½ mile SE of Williamsburg and about 6 miles from Yorktown.
2. Issue of transportation of artillery pieces from the landing to Yorktown positions.
 - Horses had been sent overland from Elk Landing, along with personnel baggage of officers. Did not arrive at the same time as the ships.
 - With no teams, very difficult unloading the cannons especially up the slope
 - Lack of transport caused a delay moving the siege pieces to Yorktown. Teams arrived on October 5 and every wagon was pressed into service.

- Both Washington and Rochambeau personally viewed the efforts to unload the cannon from ships, get them ashore, and loaded on wagons and caissons to Yorktown. These were critical weapons in order to conduct a siege.



Trebell's landing today. Remnants of old Grove Wharf mark where the Allies' siege guns were muscled ashore.

3. In Williamsburg – Allied Army assembled and conducted pre-combat operations checks. Gen'l. Washington formally controls and directs the preparations. He issued various directives and orders as indicated below.²
 - **15 September:** Issues Warning order for operations at Yorktown; exhorts officers and soldiers to display spirit and ardor in everything they do. Emphasizes accurate and complete accountability of troops, holding officers responsible for the accuracy of the report.
 - **16 September:** Issues orders forbidding confiscation of local food, assigns the QM as responsible for procuring rations.
 - **17 September:** Commands accurate reports on equipment and supplies due next day
 - **19 September:** Orders a call of all Field Grade officers on the grounds of W&M college "Grande parade"

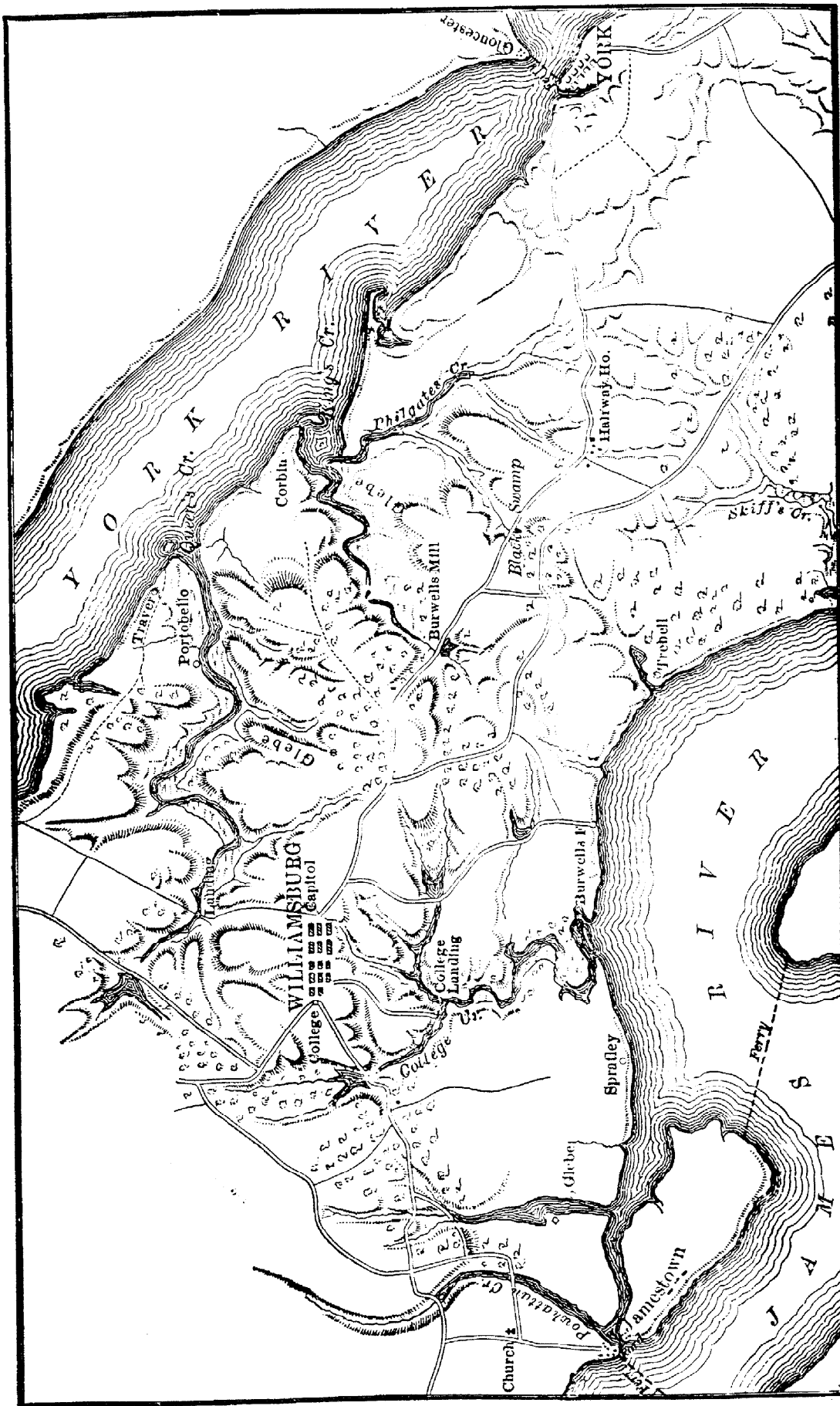
- **24 September:** Orders arms inspection for weapons, accoutrements, and ammunition and any deficiencies corrected. Task Organizes the Continental Army into Brigades and Divisions.
- **25 September:** Orders security measures regarding civilians in camp, handling of POWs.

NOTE: ONE TECHNIQUE OF THE STAFF RIDE IS TO ALLOW THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE EVENT TO TELL THEIR STORY IN THEIR OWN WORDS. DURING THE COURSE OF THE VISIT TO THE BATTLEFIELD, READ THE EXCERPTS OF THE SOLDIERS WHO FOUGHT HERE AND WHO STOOD WHERE YOU ARE STANDING TODAY. EVEN IF YOU ARE BY YOURSELF, READ THE ACCOUNTS ALOUD AND LET THEIR WORDS AND FEELINGS FILL THE AIR, AS THEY ONCE DID OVER TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO. WHAT YOU WILL HEAR IS THE SOUL OF THE ARMY.

Lt. Ebenezer Denny of the Pennsylvania Brigade wrote of these events:³

15 Sept. Officers of all pay their respects to the Commander-in-chief; go in a body;....He stands in the door, takes every man by the hand – the officers all pass in, receiving his salute and shake. This is the first time I had seen the General....The presence of so many general officers and the arrival of new corps seem to give additional life to everything; discipline the order of the day. In all directions troops seen exercising and maneuvering. Baron Steuben....attend the grand parade at an early hour, where the Baron is always found waiting with one or two aids....These men are exercised and put through various evolution and military experiments for two hours – many officers and spectators present; excellent school this.

25 Sept: Joined by the last of the troops from the eastward. French encamped a few miles on the right; busy in getting cannon and military stores from on board the vessels.



SOURCE: HENRY P. JOHNSTON, The Yorktown Campaign

4. The road – trace from Trebell's Landing:

- Along road, note erosion of the years. Probably used during the Civil War.
- Note construction technique of using shells as a base/paving.



Current trace of the road leading from Trebell's Landing. Note how the road has eroded about 7 feet in depth over hundreds of years use.



The road further up from the landing where it begins to level off and meet the MSR to Yorktown.

WALK UP THE ROAD TOWARD THE CORNER OF RON SPRINGS ROAD OR RETURN TO YOUR CAR AT THE TREATMENT PLANT. AFTER EXITING THE OLD ROAD AT THE PAVED ROAD, GET ON BUS AND TAKE ROUTE 60 (WARWICK BLVD) EAST TO LEE HALL, TURN LEFT ON ELMHURST, THEN LEFT ON TO ROUTE 238 (YORKTOWN RD). GO NORTH ON YORKTOWN ROAD UNTIL SEEING ENDVIEW PLANTATION. STOP ON RIGHT AT THE HISTORIC MARKER AND PAINTING.

STOP #2: ENDMETHOD PLANTATION SITE

ESTIMATED TIME AT THIS STOP = 10-15 mins.

Points to Discuss:

1. Note Allies advanced using this route to assembly areas several miles away from Yorktown.
 - Not a haphazard march – Washington established how it would be executed.
 - On 27 September 1781, Washington in GO issues sign/countersigns for the day. (**Parole Virginia//York, Gloucester**)
 - Washington issued Rules of Engagement during march.⁴

If the enemy should be tempted to meet the Army on its march, the General particularly enjoins the troops to place their principle reliance on the Bayonet, that they may prove the vanity of the boast which the British make of their particular prowess in deciding battles with that weapon....the Justice of the cause in which we are engaged and the Honor of the two nations must inspire every breast with sentiments that are the presage of Victory.

2. Army began its march at dawn on 28 Sept – a very hot Sunday
 - The routes of march had Traffic Control Points (TCPs) stationed along them.
 - Defensive posts at important intersection served to prevent British from breaking out of Yorktown or warn of their advance.
 - VA militia camped here on the night of 28 September 1781.

SGT. Joseph P. Martin, of the Sappers and Miners of Connecticut wrote of the March:⁵

It was a warm day. When we had proceeded about halfway to Yorktown we halted and rested two or three hours. . . .(Pocket book stolen by Pennsylvanians). . . . Here, or about this time, we had orders from the Commander in Chief that, in case the enemy should come out to meet us, we should exchange but one round with them and then decide the conflict with the bayonet, as they valued themselves at that instrument The British however, did not think fit at that time to give us an opportunity to soil our bayonets in their carcasses, but why they did not we could never conjecture.

3. Enroute to Yorktown, discuss the route, the British pickets were spotted, and some minor skirmishing and shooting occurs. In all the march is conducted successfully and without any delay to the Allies.
 - The British are now aware of the Allied advance and prepare accordingly.

FROM THIS STOP, CONTINUE NORTH ON ROUTE 238 TO ROUTE 637 (CRAFFORD/CRAWFORD ROAD). TURN RIGHT ON TO CRAFFORD ROAD. TAKE THIS ROAD TO WHERE IT MEETS ROUTE 238 (GOOSLEY RD). CONTINUE EAST ON GOOSLEY RD THROUGH THE BATTLEFIELD TO THE INTERSECTION NEAR THE NATIONAL CEMETERY ON RT. 238. TURN LEFT AND PROCEED TO THE PARKING LOT OF THE YORKTOWN VISITOR'S CENTER. AT THIS STOP, DISMOUNT BUS AND GO INTO VISITORS CENTER FOR ORIENTATION. BUS SHOULD BE INSTRUCTED TO MOVE TO PARK IN YORKTOWN FOR LINK UP AT LUNCH. AFTER GOING THROUGH THE MUSEUM, GO UP TO THE OBSERVATION DECK FOR THE NEXT STOP.

NOTICE

**Material originally in this document has been omitted due to
copyright concerns**

STOP #3: VISITOR'S CENTER – ORIENTATION/OVERLOOK

ESTIMATED TIME AT THIS STOP = 15 - 20 mins.

Points to Discuss:

1. The participants had no high perspective of the operations like we have.
 - 15 miles up river from the Battle of the Capes
 - Discuss Naval operations and Cornwallis reasons for occupying Yorktown
2. Decision to defend at Yorktown:

Rejected a base at Old Point Comfort. Naval Captains Charles Hudson, Thomas Symonds and C.H. Everitt reported on 24 July 1781 to Cornwallis.⁶

In consequence of a requisition that your lordship received from the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Troops and Ships, relative to a Post at Old Point Comfort, for the protection and security of the Kings Ships We whose names are . . . subscribed, have taken as accurate a survey of that place as possible, and are unanimously of opinion from the width of the channel and depth of the water close to it, that any superior enemy's force coming in, may pass any work that can possibly be established there, with little damage, or destroy it, with the ships that may be there under it protection.

The Army Engineer, Lt. Alexander Sutherland wrote on 25 July:⁷

The great width and depth of the channel, gives ships the advantage of passing the fort with very little risque; I apprehend fifteen hundred yards is too great a distance for batteries to stop ships, . . . nor do I imagine a fort built there could afford a great protection to an inferior and weak fleet against a superior fleet of the enemy. . . .

The time and expense to build a fort there must be very considerable, from the low situation of the ground, which must necessarily cause the soil to be moved from a . . . distance to form the ramparts and parapets,

and every other material must be carried there as timber on the Peninsula is unfit for any purpose.

Lt.Gen. Cornwallis in his After Action Report to Clinton 29 Oct 1781 wrote:⁸

I never saw this post in a very favorable light; But when I found I was to be attacked in it, in so unprepared a state, by so powerful an army and artillery, nothing but the hopes of relief would have induced me to attempt its defense; for I would either have endeavored to escape to New York by rapid marches from the Gloucester side, immediately on the arrival of General Washington's troops at Williamsburg, or I would, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, have attacked them in the open field. . . . But, being assured by your excellency's letters, that every possible means would be tried by the navy and army to relieve us, I could not think myself at liberty to venture upon either of those desperate attempts; therefore . . . receiving on the second evening your letter of the 24th of September, informing me that the relief would sail about the 5th of October, I withdrew within the works on the night of the 29th of September, hoping by the labor and firmness of the soldier to protract the defense until you could arrive.

3. Orient to Terrain – note differences from then and now

- No trees
- Orient to Pigeon Hill
- British line stretched around Town
- Point out landmarks
- Point out route
- Everything needed for a siege: Water, Wood, Food, Easy Soil,

NOW GO DOWN TO THE BRITISH TRENCH LINES WHERE THEY JOIN THE RIVER AND STOP AT THE ARTILLERY POSITIONS IN FRONT OF YOU.

STOP #4: BRITISH TRENCH LINE/CANNON DISPLAY

ESTIMATED TIME AT THIS STOP = 15-20 min.

Points to Discuss:

1. General:

- British were on ½ rations
- Slaves used to dig trenches, then turned out with small pox (Germ Warfare)
- Americans have heavy guns for a siege
- British have what they can get off ships (with crews) and brought cross-country with them.
- Trenches dug from the front and throw dirt back to provide a trench to the enemy.

Cornwallis wrote in his AAR:⁹

Everything was to be expected from the spirit of the troops; but every disadvantage attended their labor, as the work was to be continued under the enemy's fire, and our stock of entrenching tools, which did not much exceed four hundred when we began to work in the latter end of August, was now much diminished.

Though Cornwallis blamed the poor siege work defense on a lack of equipment, others challenged that assessment for a variety of reasons. The commander of the Hessian Jagers at Gloucester, Captain Johann Ewald, attributed the lack of adequate defensive works to the following:¹⁰

The same evening [30 October] a line was laid out in an arc around York, which was to protect the town and behind which a siege could be sustained. Half of the army was put to work, and now for the first time it was found that tools were lacking, just as they had been at Portsmouth under Arnold, which no one had thought about again in all that time. . . .Now head banged against head in York and Gloucester. Now they hastily began to unload all the magazines and guns which had been brought from Portsmouth, but which – through negligence and laziness – were still of board the ships lying at anchor in the York River. . .

Ewald make a more direct accusation of failure of the British Engineer, Lieutenant Sutherland for the poor preparedness when he wrote:

[W]ork was begin to palisade and dress the works at York and Gloucester. For the English Vauban (Captain Sutherland) laid more stress upon repairing the work afterward than on constructing it well in the beginning, or following all the rules of fortification for laying out works. Instead of that, any sensible engineer thinks in advance of palisades, assault stakes, fascines, palings, and saucissons before he starts to break ground; but here, one thinks about these things for the first time only after the work is constructed. – But what is the reason? The engineer gets a daily allowance of one pound sterling as long as his work lasts; hence it is to his advantage if it drags on.

Another view of the British Army situation is contained in Gen. Clinton's note to Cornwallis regarding his picture of the defensive preparations. Clinton wrote:¹¹

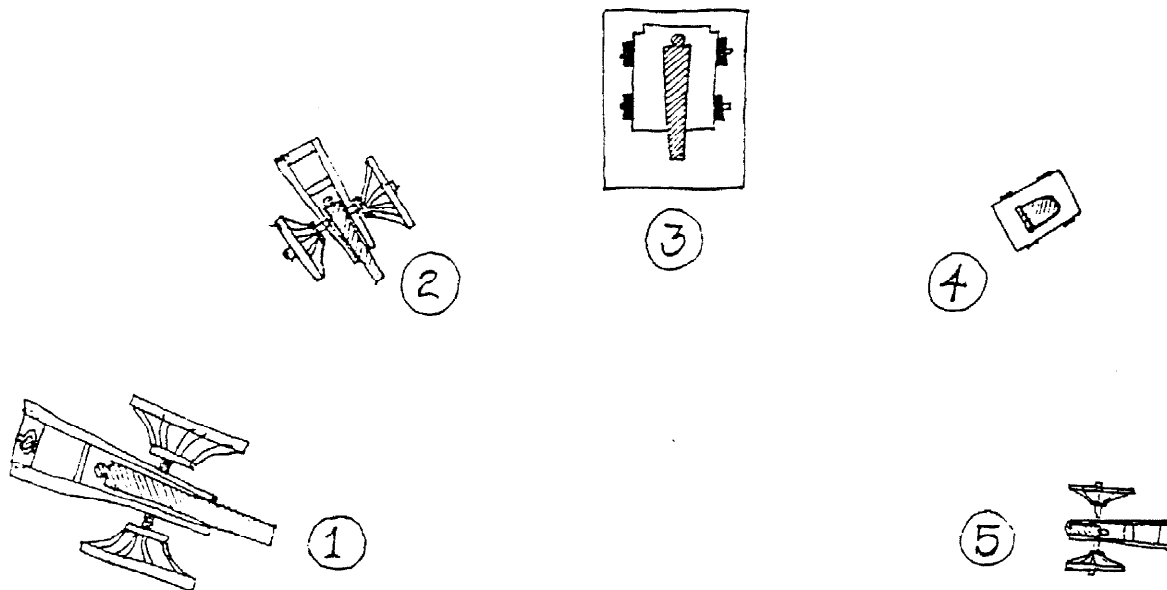
From his Lordship's letter to me of the 22d of August, I had every reason to suppose that a proper survey of the ground had been taken, and a judicious plan fixed on for fortifying it; I very much fear that nothing material was done until after the arrival of the French fleet on the 29th of August, as the engineer has since give me to understand (when I asked him for his survey) that he did not take one. There appears, therefore, to have been a misapprehension somewhere respecting this matter, as well as the number of intrenching tools; which, though computed by his lordship to be only about four hundred when he began to work on the York side, I find by his engineers reports in my possession, to have been 992 on the 23d of August, the day on which (it is presumed from the letter before quoted) he began to break ground.

2. Tactics of Defense:¹²

- British had a relatively simple mission: hold out until either relieved by a friendly force or the attacker collapsed in frustration.
- A tenacious defense required contesting every inch of advance, although there were wide differences of opinion on how best to accomplish this mission.
- Some generals favored conserving the force (both men and guns) until the lines closed in to point-blank range and a maximum number of casualties could be inflicted on the attackers
- Other espoused frequent sorties to try to disrupt work on the parallels and batteries, destroy stocks of siege material, and damage or "spike" the attacking guns.

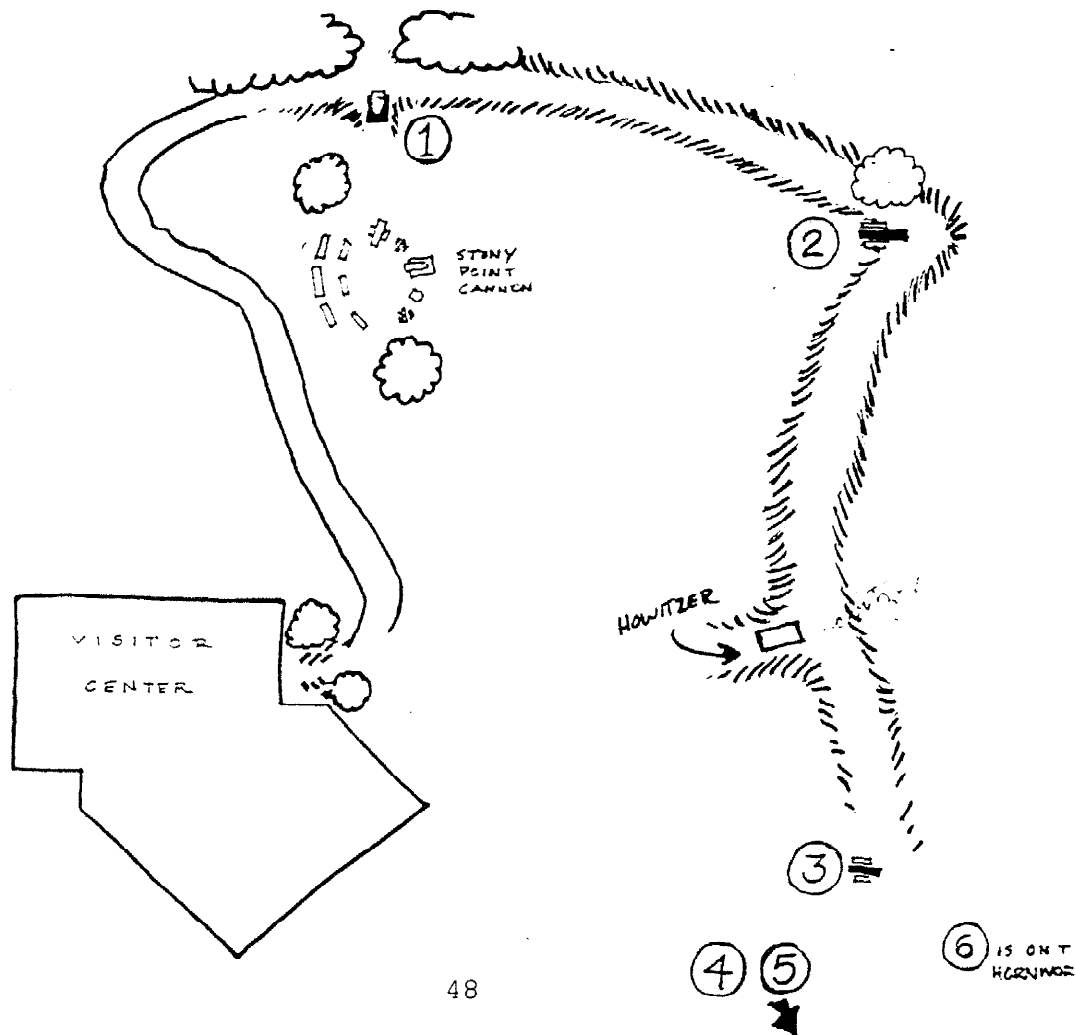
3. Artillery Park behind the Visitor's Center:

- 1) This is a reproduction of a French piece. It is a 24-pound siege gun, called Phillip, and is one of the infamous "Twelve Apostles" (a collection of 12 reproductions owned by the park, each bearing an Apostle's name).
- 2) This is an original, six – pound, bronze field piece (French), mounted on a field carriage. It was made in 1761. French soldiers gave it the name "Turtle Dove." It weighs 901 pounds, its bore is $3 \frac{3}{4}$ ", and its length is $63 \frac{7}{8}$."
- 3) This is an original, 12-pound, bronze cannon (English), mounted on a garrison carriage. It was made in 1742 by A. Schalch and was captured at Stony Point, New York, by rebel forces on July 15, 1779. Thus, it is often called the Stony Point Cannon. It weighs 3458 pounds, and is 4.75 caliber.
- 4) This is an original, 10" bronze mortar (English), mounted on a field carriage. It also was made by A. Schalch in 1742. It weighs 1183 pounds.
- 5) This is an original, 5.8" bronze howitzer, (English), and is mounted on a field carriage. It was made in 1758. It weighs 460 pounds.



4. Other artillery on or near the British Inner Defense Line proceeding around the line from the stone mortar:¹³

- 1) This is an original 13" bronze mortar (French) made in 1681. It is mounted on a field carriage.
- 2) This is an original 6-pound bronze field cannon (French) built in 1762. It is mounted on a field carriage. It is called "Le Renard" or the "Fox." It weighs 901 pounds.
- 3) This is an uncataloged reproduction.
- 4) This is an original 6-pound, iron cannon (American), made in 1797. It is mounted on a field carriage and is unusually long.
- 5) See item #3 above.
- 6) The piece on the hornwork is an original 18-pound cannon, made of iron (American). It weighs 1.5 tons and is 92" long.



Some of the effects of the Allied bombardment had on the British troops at these positions can be seen in Hessian Johann Dohla's diary which noted on 17 September:¹⁴

Early at the break of day, the bombardment began again from the enemy side even more horribly than before. They fired from all redoubts without stopping. Our detachment, which stood in the hornwork, could scarcely avoid the enemy's bombs, howitzer shot, and cannon balls any more. One saw nothing but bombs and balls raining on our whole line.

5. Miscellaneous notes:¹⁵

- After siege, army took down the works to prevent use by enemy
- Civilian conservation corps built the current trenches, used men with W.W.I experience in trench warfare to supervise
- Tobacco Road from the 1880's – recognized as a national treasure
- Yorktown in the 1920's – deep water port meant tourists and resorts
 - Golf course from 1920's/ Resorts from 1940's and 50's
 - Concrete foundations established in 1929, but due to the stock market crash, never completed planned hotel/resort.

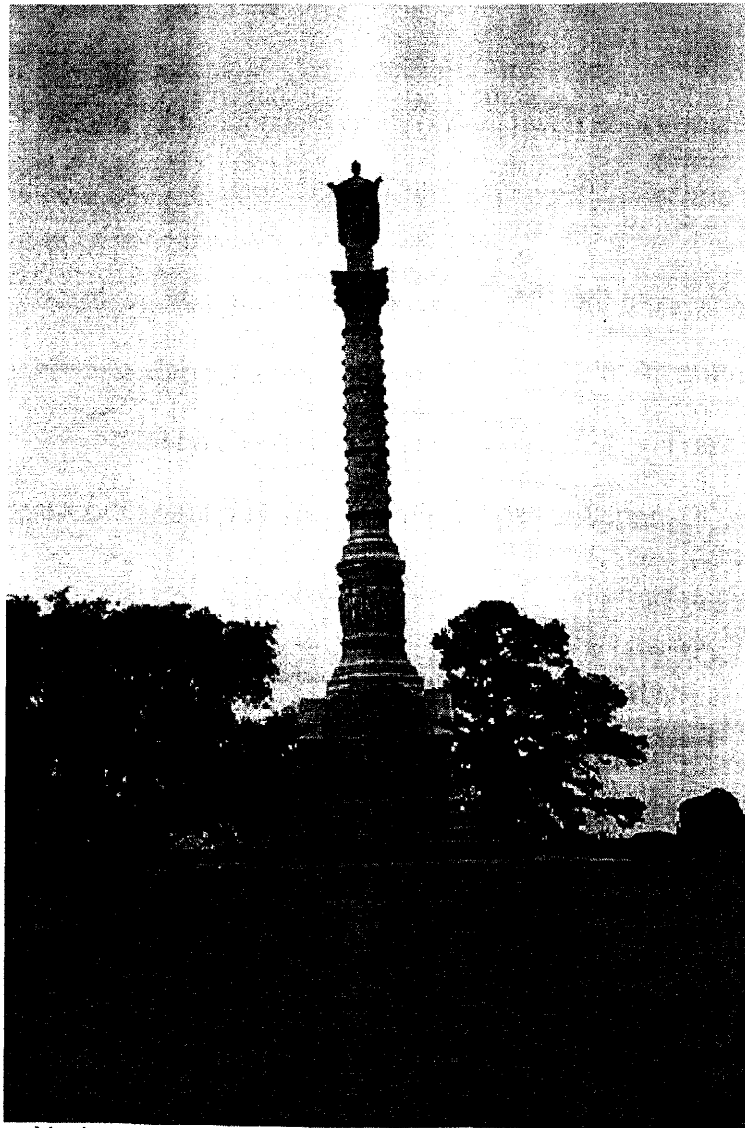
FROM THIS POSITION WALK TO THE VICTORY MONUMENT TOWARDS THE TOWN.
ENROUTE, STOP AT RUINS OF NELSON HOUSE, THE BUILDING THAT RECEIVED THE
FIRST AMERICAN SHOT DURING THE SIEGE.

STOP #5: VICTORY MONUMENT

ESTIMATED TIME AT THIS STOP = 15 - 20 min.

Points to Discuss:

1. The Victory Monument was one of the first National Monuments¹⁶
 - Congress Passed the Act authorizing it on 29 Oct 1781, voted to erect the monument
 - It was not funded, committees kept asking for funds through the 1800's



Yorktown Victory Monument. Liberty is perched atop the 84 ft. granite shaft which was completed in 1884.

2. 1881 centennial \$100,000 design and build – Oct 19, 1881 cornerstone laid, completed three years later.

- 13 female figures = colonies
- 84 ft granite shaft
- 1 star for each state of the union
- Liberty at the top
- Can be seen from the battlefield and the river
- Monument completed in 1884

Centennial was a big event, the U.S.S. Constitution was sailed there, John Phillip Sousa conducted the band

3. Development of the Park varied. In 1890 War Dept battlefields effort, also a move to memorialize in 1920's and 30's.

- 3 July 1930, created park as the Yorktown National Monument
- 1931 Sesquicentennial - Franklin Roosevelt, then Gov. of NY, and President Herbert Hoover presided. French sent two ships loaded with champagne
- CCC worked to accomplish task of restoring battlefield.

4. Liberty at the top was struck by lightning in 1942 and replaced with a new figure in 1956.

FROM THE MONUMENT, WALK INTO THE TOWN, TO THE NELSON HOUSE AND
DISCUSS THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TOWN TO THE AREA AND THE BATTLE

STOP #6: TOWN OF YORKTOWN

Walk to Yorktown – View significant sites. Stop at Nelson House. Continue walk down Main Street.

ESTIMATED TIME AT THIS STOP = 15 - 20 min.

Points to Discuss:¹⁷

1. Known as the Port of York, York, Town of York, or Yorktown
 - Established in 1691 as part of the Virginia Port Act passed by the VA General Assembly
 - 50 acres of land purchased from Benjamin Read of Gloucester County for 10,000 pounds of sweet scented tobacco and cask.
 - Nov 24, 1691, 36 deeds sold for lots at 180 pounds of tobacco.

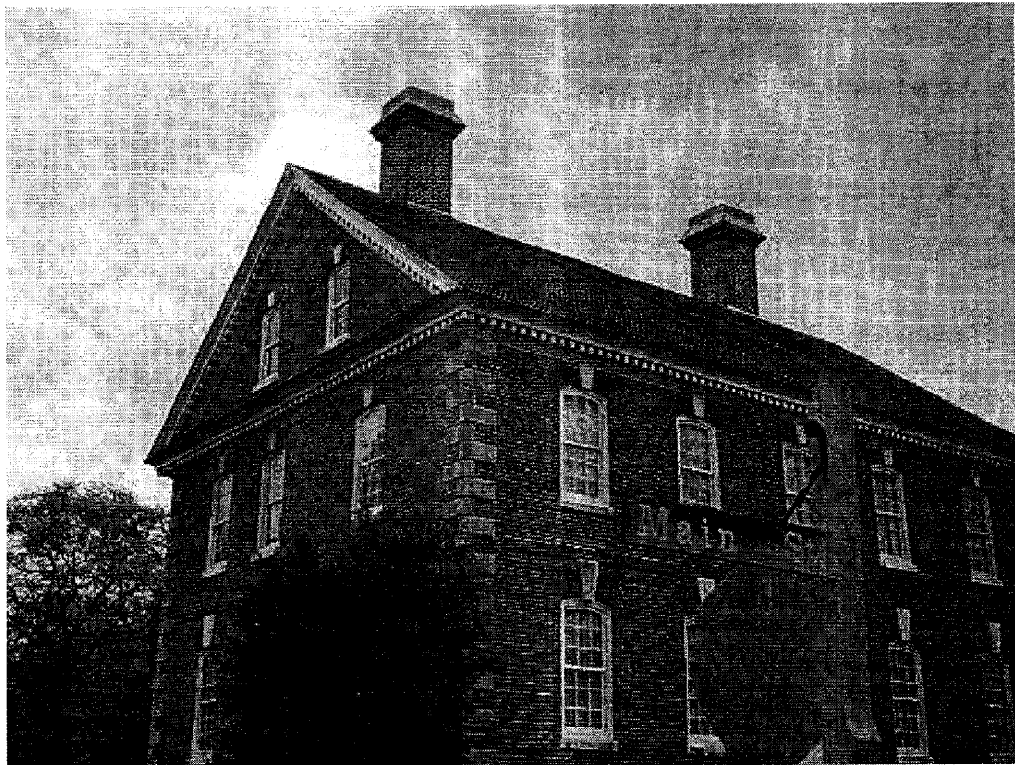


Dudley Digges House – Original restored house built in early 18th Century. Digges was a lawyer who served as a council member for Virginia during the Revolution.

2. Yorktown was destined to become a tobacco port as it drew on crops of the plantations in the area. By the 1700's more diverse cargo traded including clothes, wines and liquor, furniture, jewelry riding gear swords, firearms, books, and slaves.
 - On Water Street parallel to the river, had wharves, loading places, ships, shops, and lodging.
 - 1740 – 1770 appears to be peak period of prosperity

3. By the revolution, decline was beginning. The Siege of 1781 spelled the death of the town. It burned again in 1814. Soil of hundred-year use was being worn thin and the center of tobacco culture moved southwest. Yorktown stopped growing, lost size and prosperity and soon became another rural village.

- Key landmark is now gone, the Windmill that was a point of reference on the high cliff.
- Many civil war trench works remain that were used by the Confederates who held them in siege of 1862 until evacuated by the Rebels.



Nelson House – Restored mansion built by “Scotch Tom” Nelson and home of his grandson, Thomas Nelson, Jr. who commanded the VA militia at Yorktown. A cannon ball is still lodged in the side of the house between the topmost windows.

4. Cornwallis cave: The rooms in the marl cliff very likely proved valuable to the British for safe storage. This may have been a convenient location for conferences as destruction rained upon Yorktown.

An account of the effects of the bombardment was given by Stephen Popp, a 22-yr. old German mercenary from Bayreuth:¹⁸

The heavy fire forced us to throw our tents in the ditches. . . . We could find no refuge in or out of the town. The people fled to the waterside and hid in hastily contrived shelters on the banks, but many of them were killed by bursting bombs. More than eighty were thus lost, besides many wounded, and their houses utterly destroyed. Our ships suffered, too, under the heavy fire, for the enemy fired in on day thirty-six hundred shot from their heavy guns and batteries. Soldiers and sailors deserted in great numbers. The Hessian Regiment von Bose lost heavily, although it was in our rear in the second line, but in full range of the enemy's fire. Our two regiments lost very heavily too. The light infantry posted at an angle had the worst position and the heaviest loss. Sailors and marines all served in defending our lines on shore

5. Miscellaneous notes from the National Park Service:¹⁹

- Yorktown has about 200 residents today
- 1930 – Parkway to connect Jamestown/Williamsburg/Yorktown. Developed by CCC and Public Works Administration
 - Age 17-28 unmarried men – 5 CCC camps with 1,000 men = KSCs
 - Reconstruct Yorktown siege lines – W.W.I vets provided technical trench experience of W.W.I
 - Redoubt #9 rebuilt
- In Town – just lots, no buildings. Civil War destroyed. Town blew up with a powder explosion.
 - 1933-43 Houses reconstructed i.e. Swan Tavern
 - Restoration of the Moore House – 1981 bicentennial = Thomas Nelson built Gov. VA in 1781. Nelson commanded troops to fire at own house (cannon balls still in walls)
- Bicennential planning – all events in tandem 1976. 18 Million dollars to acquire properties.

NOW CONTINUE ON MAIN TO READ STREET AND WALK DOWN TO WATER STREET.
THERE GO ON THE BEACH AND DISCUSS IMPORTANCE OF RIVER.

STOP #7 - ON WATER STREET

ESTIMATED TIME AT THIS STOP = 15 - 20 min.

Points to Discuss:

1. Orient the group and discuss the importance of the York River:
2. The necessity of the river drew Cornwallis to Yorktown and later affected the actions of both armies.²⁰

- a. Cornwallis chose Yorktown because he felt the river would provide an excellent port for the British Navy.
 - The channel was deep enough to accommodate the largest British warships of the period.
 - The narrowness of the river at Yorktown (less than ½ mile) offered a protected harbor for the fleet and allowed Cornwallis to fortify both sides of the river, thus doubling his defenses and increasing his ability to protect the fleet.
 - High cliffs along the riverbank at Yorktown enabled Cornwallis to command the river more effectively with artillery positions.
 - During the siege, the cliffs along the river at Yorktown offered some degree of refuge from the artillery bombardment.
- b. River opened into Chesapeake Bay, and provided British with a direct route for resupply and reinforcement by sea.
 - As long as the mouth of the bay remained open, the British navy could deliver additional troops to Cornwallis from New York.
 - If necessary, it could even evacuate his army in case of an attack.
- c. The narrowness of the river at Yorktown offered Cornwallis a means of escape in case he was besieged; he could cross the river easily from Yorktown to Gloucester Point, then escape into the interior of VA by moving up the Middle Peninsula.
 - As the campaign developed and vulnerability became more apparent, his officers urged him to cross the river and escape, especially after the siege began.

- Washington realized British might attempt a crossing, - repeatedly urged DeGrasse to send warships up the river past Yorktown to prevent it. DeGrasse refused because it would unnecessarily endanger his ships for a small tactical gain.
- On night of October 16, at the height of the siege, Cornwallis did attempt to cross the river, but a sudden storm prevented him from getting his entire army across. The following day he decided to surrender.

Cornwallis wrote of this attempt to cross his army to Gloucester in his AAR:²¹

At this time we knew that there was no part of the whole front attacked on which we could show a single gun, and our shells were nearly expended: I therefore had only to choose between preparing to surrender next day, or endeavoring to get off with the greatest part of the troops; and I determined to attempt the latter Sixteen large boats were prepared, and ordered to be in readiness to receive troops precisely at ten o'clock; With these I hoped to pass the infantry during the night; abandoning our baggage and leaving a detachment to capitulate for the town's people and the sick and wounded. . . . [after the boats depart] But at this critical moment, the weather, from being moderate and calm, changed to a violent storm of wind and rain, and drove all the boats, some of which had troops on board, down the river. It was soon evident that the intended passage was impracticable.

LOAD THE BUS AND PREPARE TO MOVE TO STOP #7 AT THE FRENCH TRENCH LINE/RIVER REDOUBT. (DISTANCE 1.1 MILES/4 MINS) PROCEED ALONG WATER STREET TO SIGNS POINTING TO OLD ROUTE 238 AND TURN ON TO THE PARKWAY. TURN INTO THE PARKING LOT AND PARK. WALK OVER TO THE FRENCH CANNON AND MONUMENT.

STOP #8: FRENCH TRENCH LINE/RIVER REDOUBT

ESTIMATED TIME AT THIS STOP = 15 - 20 min

Points to Discuss:

1. Located on the northwest side of Yorktown Creek. The grassy knoll beside the French trench parking lot (toward Fusiliers' Redoubt) offers an excellent view of the river and Gloucester Point. Easy to see why this was strategically important to both sides during the siege.²²

- a. The river overlook actually is a high finger of land situated between the York River and the northernmost branch of Yorktown Creek. In 1781, the road from Yorktown to Williamsburg ran along the center of this high ground.
- b. Cornwallis constructed Fusiliers Redoubt on the overlook, just above the river, to guard the approach to Yorktown from the northwest.

Manned by about 80 men from the 23rd Regt (Welsh)

- c. River overlook tactically important to the Allies because it enabled them to command the entire river in the direction of Yorktown.
- d. The French constructed a siege line (the French Trench) within several hundred yards of the Fusiliers Redoubt, which brought their artillery within range of Cornwallis' small fleet at Yorktown.

2. Several key events at this location:

- a. 6 October: Diversionary Attack on British Redoubt to draw attention away from main Allied Army construction of trenches.

Baron Gaspard de Gallatin, a Swiss nobleman and cousin of Albert Gallatin, who served as a Swiss Guard of Louis XVI in the Grenadier Company of the Royal-Deuxponts regiment. When the French began construction a trench and battery opposite the British redoubt, they reacted. Gallatin wrote:²³

The enemy soon discovered this offensive, and it attracted their attention so completely that they had no knowledge whatever of our main offensive, upon which they directed no fire, contenting themselves, as on preceding nights, with firing upon the redoubts which we had abandoned and upon the two constructed by the Americans on both sides of the Hampton roadChance shots

resulted in no worse than a slight contusion to an officer of the Royal Deux Pont and a more severe wound to a soldier of the same regiment.

- b. 9 October: Opening bombardment of Yorktown – battery of six cannon and four howitzers. Gallatin wrote:

The battery for the offensive on the upper river began at about 3 o'clock to fire upon an enemy frigate which was obliged to slip her cables and retire (Frigate Guadeloupe)

- c. 10 October: Destruction of Frigate Charon. Gallatin wrote:

During the night we continued to fire bombs from the American batteries and from our battery No.1. We fired red hot balls at the vessels from the battery of the upper river offensive and set fire to a vessel of 44 guns, the Charon, and to two transports.

FROM THIS POSITION, BOARD THE BUS AND DRIVE TO THE END OF THE ROAD (RT. 1020) TO THE COLONIAL PARKWAY. TURN LEFT ONTO THE PARKWAY AND PROCEED TO THE U.S. 17 EXIT. TAKE THE EXIT AND LEFT (SOUTH) ON U.S.17. PROCEED FOR ABOUT .5 MILE TO THE TRAFFIC LIGHT AT GOOSLEY RD. TURN LEFT ONTO GOOSLEY RD. IMMEDIATELY ON THE RIGHT, NEAR THE CIVIL WAR MARKER, PARK IN THE PULL-OFF. GET OUT AND WALK TO THE REDOUBT IN THE FIELD IN FRONT OF YOU.



PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN.

REFERENCES: A, Works at Cornwallis's outer position, evacuated night of September 29th.—B, B, First parallel.—C, American battery on extreme right, from which Washington fired the first shot.—D, Captain Machin's American battery.—E, American mortar battery.—F, French battery on extreme left, first to open fire October 9th.—G, G, French grand and mortar batteries.—H, Zigzag to second parallel.—I, M, Second parallel.—O, N, N, French batteries.—K, Redoubt stormed by Americans night of October 14th.—Q, Redoubt stormed by French.—P, P, French and American batteries attacked by enemy, night of October 15th.—S, British Fusileers' Redoubt.—T, Frigate *Charon* and transports on fire.—R, R, R, French ships approaching after the surrender.

STOP #9: UNTOUCHED REDOUBT/PIGEON HILL

ESTIMATED TIME AT THIS STOP: 20 - 30 mins

Points to Discuss:

1. Allied possession of Pigeon Hill was a crucial, if not main reason for their quick victory in the siege, and the significance of this topographical feature can not be overstated.²⁴
 - a. Pigeon Hill is not a hill, but the high ground between the headwaters of Yorktown Creek, on the west side of the town, and Wormley creek, which empties into the York River a few miles south of Yorktown and forms the southern boundary of the open plain.
 - b. Wormley Creek and Wormley Pond created an effective barrier against an Allied approach to Yorktown from the south. Cornwallis constructed a series of small outer fortifications along the northern side of the creek and pond to impede any allied advance there.
 - c. Pigeon Hill offered the most feasible route of access for the Allies to the open plain (where they would have to construct their primary siege lines). It also imposed a channeling affect due to the locations of Yorktown Creek and Wormley Creek. Cornwallis' outer defenses at Pigeon Hill might have delayed the Allies attack significantly if he had not abandoned them.



Remains of British redoubt on Pigeon Hill. This earthwork is typical of the forward strongpoints that formed the hinge of the British defensive system.

2. When the Allied army arrived from Williamsburg on September 28, the French and American forces spread into a semi-circular encampment area surrounding Yorktown, to the west and south of Yorktown Creek and Wormley creek. Washington located his headquarters about 1 ½ miles southwest of Pigeon Hill at the center of the logistical support area and encampment.

- On the night of September 29, Cornwallis suddenly withdrew from all of his outer defenses at Pigeon Hill and along Wormley Creek, to consolidate his position in Yorktown. This allowed the Allies to take command of Pigeon Hill and move onto the open plain, an incredible stroke of good fortune that helped them significantly.

Washington wrote to Congress on 1 Oct 1781:²⁵

I marched from Williamsburg with the whole Army, on the 28th and approached within about two Miles of the Enemy at York, at which Distance a Show was made of some Opposition (on our left). . . . On the 29th the American Troops moved forward and took their Ground in front of the Enemy's Works on their left; no Opposition, except a few scattered Shots from small Work, by Moor's Mill, on Wormleys Creek and a Battery on the Left of Pigeon Quarter. A small fire all Day from our rifle Men and the Enemy's Jagers. 30th. In the Morning we discovered, that the Enemy had evacuated all their Exterior Line of Works, and withdrawn themselves to those near the Body of the Town. By this Means, we are in possession of very advantageous Grounds. . . All the expedition that our Circumstances will admit, is using, to bring up our heavy Artillery and Stores, and to open our Batteries, this Work I hope will be executed in a few Days, when our fire will begin with great Vigor.

3. The Allied efforts to prepare and establish positions in this portion of the battlefield did not go unmolested. Many soldiers reported the effects of the enemy bombardment and skirmishing that occurred here as defenses were prepared and efforts made to open siege lines.

Colonel Richard Butler noted in his diary:²⁶

October 2d – The fire of the enemy more severe this morning; about 10 o'clock they brought up two 18-pounders . . . They fired severely all day; the shot expended amounted to 351 between sun-rise and sun-set . . . the fire of the enemy continued all night.

October 5th – Cannonading all morning. . . . Today about 4 o'clock p.m., Corporal Organ, a brave and honest soldier, was unfortunately killed by a cannon shot; a great deal of firing through the night.

Lt. Ebenezer Denny noted in his diary:²⁷

One-third of the army on fatigue every day, engaged in various duties, making gabions, fascines, saucissons, etc and great exertions and labor in getting on the heavy artillery. Strong covering parties (whole regiments) moved from camp as soon as dark, and lay all night upon their arms between us and the enemy. . . . Our patrols, and those of the British, met occasionally in the dark, sometimes a few shot were exchanged – would generally retire.

Captain James Duncan, of the Pennsylvania Line, noted the circumstance of one brave, or stupid, soldier during this period:²⁸

October 3rd – A militia man this day, possessed of more bravery [than] prudence, stood constantly on the parapet and damned his soul if he would dodge for the buggers. He had escaped longer than could have been expected, and, growing fool-hardy, brandished his spade at every ball that was fired, till, unfortunately, a ball came and put an end to his capers.



Members of a U.S. Army Staff Ride enter the redoubt from the entrance located at the rear of the position. For several days Allied soldiers received British fire at these positions.

All of these efforts of preparation were noted by Gen'l Washington who wrote to Congress on 6 October stating:²⁹

[W]e have been imployed in repairing the Enemy's Works upon Pigeon Hill, and in constructing a new intermediate Redoubt; These will serve to give security to our Troops in making their approaches. We have been assiduously employed in making Fascines and Gabiens and in transporting our heavy Cannon, Mortars and Stores from Trebell's landing upon James River. In the last we made slow progress until the arrival of the Wagons and Teams from the Northward; but it being the opinion of the Engineers that we now have a sufficient stock to commence operations, we shall this night .

FROM THIS LOCATION, REBOARD BUS AND THEN CONTINUE EAST ON GOOSLEY RD. AT INTERSECTION TURN RIGHT AND THEN MAKE A LEFT INTO THE PARKING LOT FOR THE FRENCH GRANDE BATTERY STOP. WHEN DEPARTING THE BUS TAKE EVERYTHING YOU NEED UNTIL GETTING BACK ON THE BUS AT REDOUBTS 9 AND 10.

STOP #10: FRENCH BATTERY AT FIRST PARALLEL

ESTIMATED TIME AT THIS STOP: 30 – 40 mins

Points to Discuss:

1. The Grand French Battery was located at the western end of the first Allied siege line, at the edge of the open plain. Today the reconstructed battery is an excellent location for discussing siege warfare in general.³⁰

- Allies dug their first siege line at Yorktown on the night of October 6 and fired their first shots at the British on October 9.
- The configuration of the first siege line was determined by the location of the two outer fortifications which Cornwallis had constructed on the open plain to guard his left flank. Redoubts 9 and 10. Because of the redoubts, the right end of the first Allied siege line had to be located further away from Yorktown than the left end.
- There was an overriding sense of organization and patience to correctly conduct the siege in accordance with established doctrine.
- Significance of the event did not escape the participants, i.e. Washington's Ceremony and Hamilton's theatrics.

2. STAGES of A SIEGE³¹

a. Avenue of Attack: Much deliberation on review of terrain, intelligence estimates of the defenders status and state of defenses to select a specific sector of attack. Process took personal attention of commander and key subordinates.

b. C2: Technical experts were the Engineers and Artillerists, both jealous of each other's prerogatives. Control exercised through General Officers of the trenches, normally division commanders who had a 24-hour duty.

Rotated Divisions and Commanders every 24 hours

American Duty Roster: Lincoln – Steuben – Lafayette

French Duty Roster: St. Simon – Viscount Viomenil – Baron Viomenil

c. Siege Parks: The artillerists, engineers and logisticians created depots called siege park, in work sheltered locations about 2,000 yard from the fortification, where the workshops and storage facilities were established. Convenient access to roads played an essential role in site selection. From these points trails provided routes to move the supplies forward to mini-depots at the rear entrances of the trenches. During this phase, siege work parties began accumulating stocks of wood and supple branches and constructing thousands of fascines, gabions, and similar items. A crew of two experienced men could assemble a gabion in about three hours; raw labor worked on the simpler fascines.

d. First Parallel: Initial transverse trench, called the first parallel marked the beginning of the siege. It was situated about 600 yards out from the main defense the initial groundbreaking had to take place in the dark, and be far enough advanced by dawn to provide the workmen some protection from artillery fire. Engineers marked the line to be dug and supervised details of infantrymen who performed the actual labor, while other bodies of infantrymen stood guard. Improvement on the works continued and included erecting platforms for artillery. Heavy Siege guns, howitzers and mortars placed in these positions began a round the clock firing to silence defenders artillery to disrupt enemy interior lines. Zig-zag trenches cut to push forward and provide a covered approach to the site of the next transverse.

- 4,300 men (French and American) were used to begin work on 6 October
- 1,500 did the digging, while 2800 served as security to guard against attack
- MG Lincoln commanded the American detachment of six Regiments on the right half of the line.
- Baron Viomenil commanded the left part of the line.

SGT Martin gave this account of the development of the First Parallel in his diary, stating:³²

On the fifth of October we began to put our plans into execution. One-third part of all the troops were put in requisition to be employed in opening the trenches. A third part of our Sappers and Miners were ordered out this night to assist the engineers in laying out the works. It was a very dark and rainy night. However, we repaired to the place and began by following the engineers and laying laths of pine wood end-to-end upon the line marked out by the officers for the trenches. . . . It coming on to rain hard, we were ordered back to our tents, and nothing

more was done that night. The next night, which was the sixth of October, the same men were ordered to the lines that had been there the night before. We this night completed laying out the works. The troops of the line were there ready with entrenching tools and began to entrench, after General Washington had struck a few blows with a pickax, a mere ceremony, that it might be said "General Washington with his own hands first broke ground at the siege of Yorktown." The ground was sandy and soft, and the men employed that night eat no "idle bread"so that by daylight they had covered themselves from danger from the enemy's shot.

Gen'l. Von Steuben: Only General Officer in the American wing that had been present at a siege before so he spoke with the authority of experience. He gave orders to the parties on 8 October regarding the Standard Operating Procedures to use to defend the trenches:³³

The General of the Trenches enjoins it in the strictest manner, on the officers, to remain constantly with their respective commands. The officers commanding platoons are, particularly during the night, to keep their men together, with their arms in their hands. In case the enemy should sally, the whole of the troops are to form eight paces in the rear of the trench; and as the enemy come into the trench, the respective platoons will rush on them with the bayonet; when they are repulsed and retiring, then, and not before, the troops will occupy the banquette, and fire at them in their retreat.

Gen'l. Henry Knox, the American Artillery chief gave the following orders to his battery commanders on 8 October:³⁴

A Field officer of artillery will be appointed every day to command in the Trenches, to be relieved every twenty-four hours. He will pointedly attend that the firing is well directed according to the object, and that the utmost coolness and Regularity is observed. Upon every occasion where it shall be practicable, the Ricochet firing of shott and shells

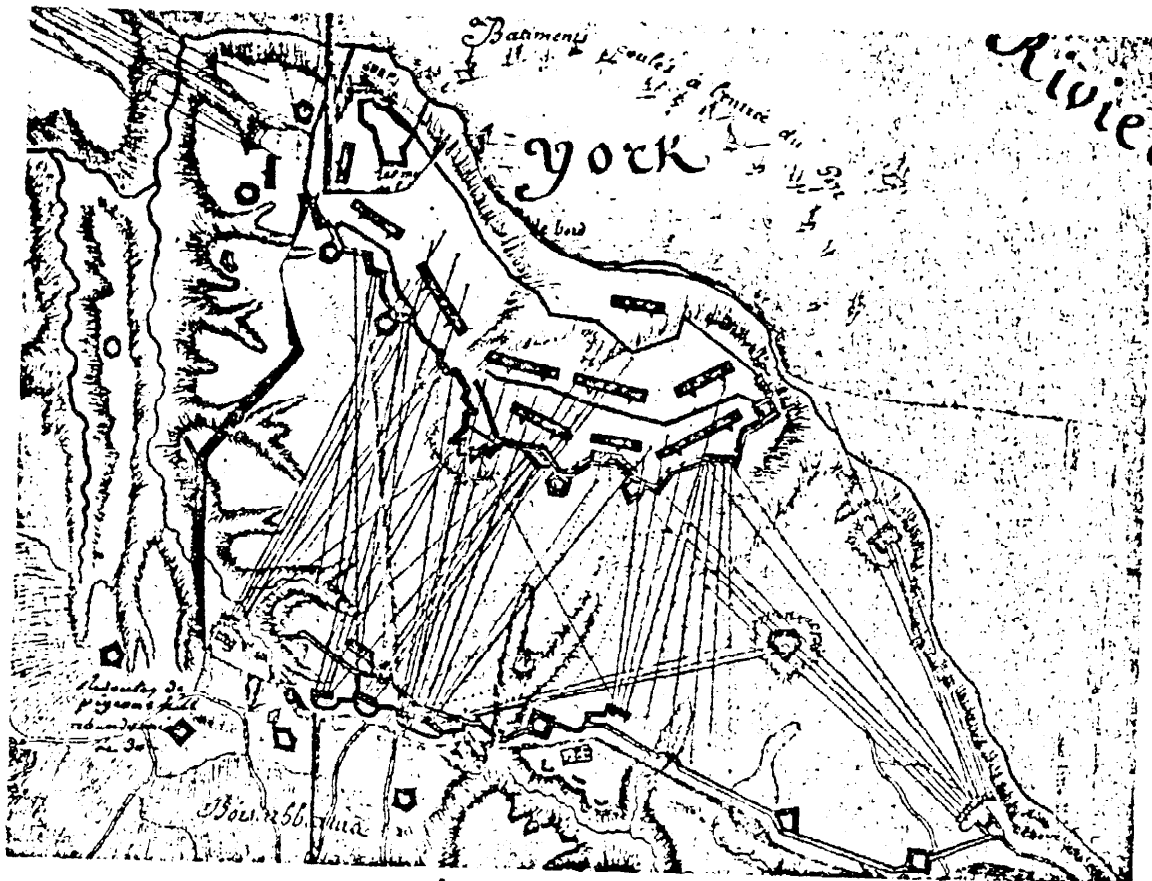
must be practiced. This mode has a vast superiority over all others, and is much more economical. The officers of Artillery in the Batteries are to level every piece themselves.

3. First Example of "Hamilton's Theatrics": Alexander Hamilton had been Gen'l Washington's aide, who had a falling out with his commander due to a misunderstanding about the delivery of Headquarters dispatches to subordinate units. Washington chastised Hamilton for failure to ensure dispatches were delivered in a timely manner, however, Hamilton blamed his failure on Lafayette who had distracted him from his duties. In a huff, Hamilton grabbed his baggage and quit the Headquarters. His unemployment was short lived as he quickly gained a command of a regiment in Lafayette's division. As such, Hamilton appeared to be constantly and consciously aware of the historical events unfolding on the battlefield. I label his efforts to ensure his name was always prominently mentioned at important events as "Hamilton's Theatrics."

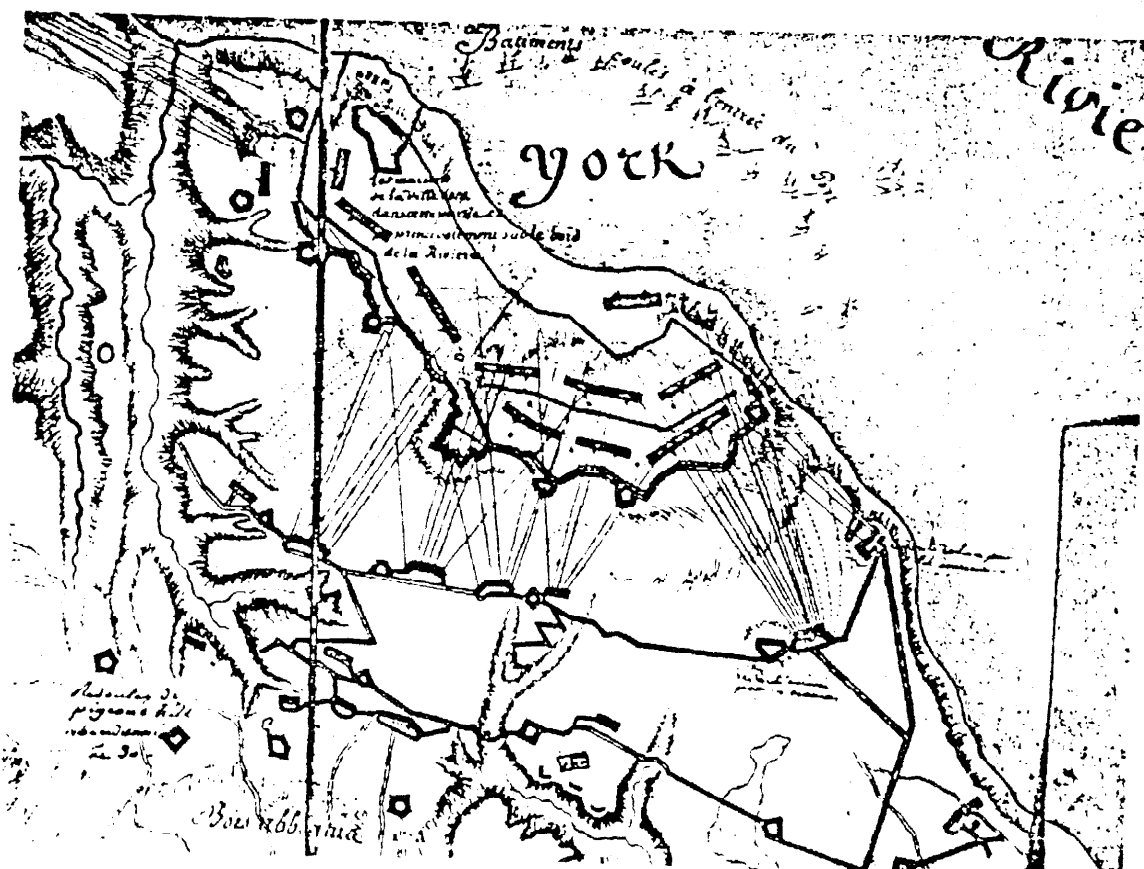
The most dramatic of these events, and most dangerous to the men involved, occurred on the morning of 7 October. In order to impress the British with how professional the American Army had matured in regards to European drill precision, Hamilton ordered his unit to mount the trenches in the face of enemy shot and put on a display of the manual of arms.

James Duncan, a member of the regiment wrote this account of the event:³⁵

The trenches were this day to be enlivened with drums beating and colors flying, and this honor was conferred on our division of light infantry . . . Our next maneuver was rather extraordinary. We were ordered to mount the bank, front the enemy, and there by word of command go through all the ceremony of soldiery, ordering and grounding our arms; and although the enemy have been firing a little before they did not now give us a single shot. I suppose their astonishment at our conduct must have prevented them, for I can assign no other reason. Colonel Hamilton gave these orders, and although I esteem him one of the finest officers in the American army, must beg leave in this instance to think he wantonly exposed the lives of his men.



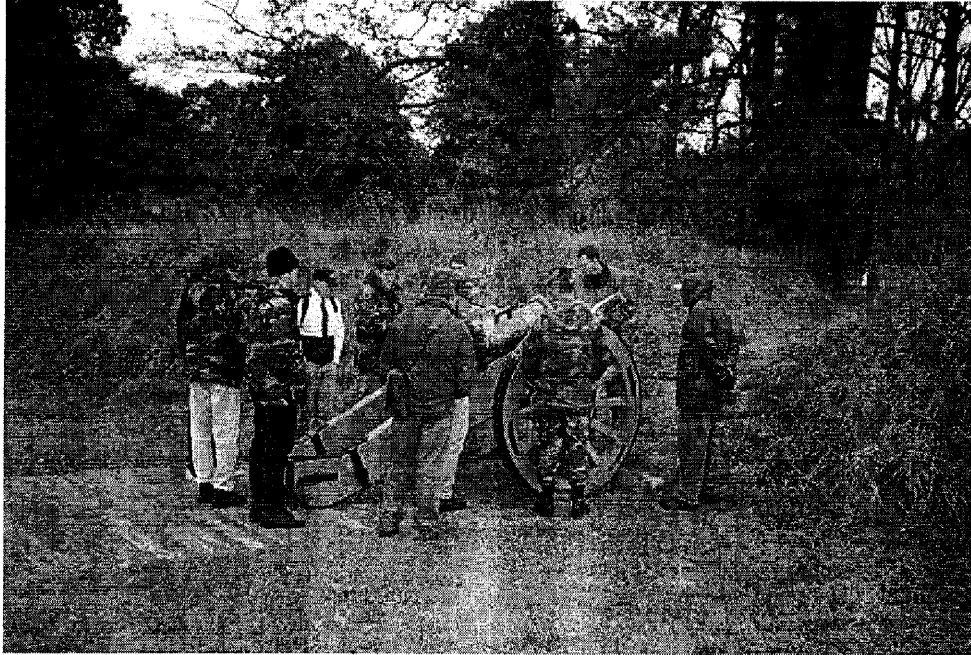
88 FIRST PARALLEL. DETAIL FROM THE BERTHIER BROTHERS' PLAN



89 SECOND PARALLEL. DETAIL FROM THE BERTHIER BROTHERS' PLAN

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2. The trenches completed, the artillery moved into position, all was ready to begin the bombardment of the British in Yorktown. Again, as part of the ceremony of this battle, the signal would be the raising of the American flag. The French battery on the Allied left near the river began firing at 1500 hours. On the extreme right, an American battery of six 18-24 pounders, two mortars, and two howitzers prepared to fire at 1700 hours. Washington ceremoniously fired the first shot into the enemy works.

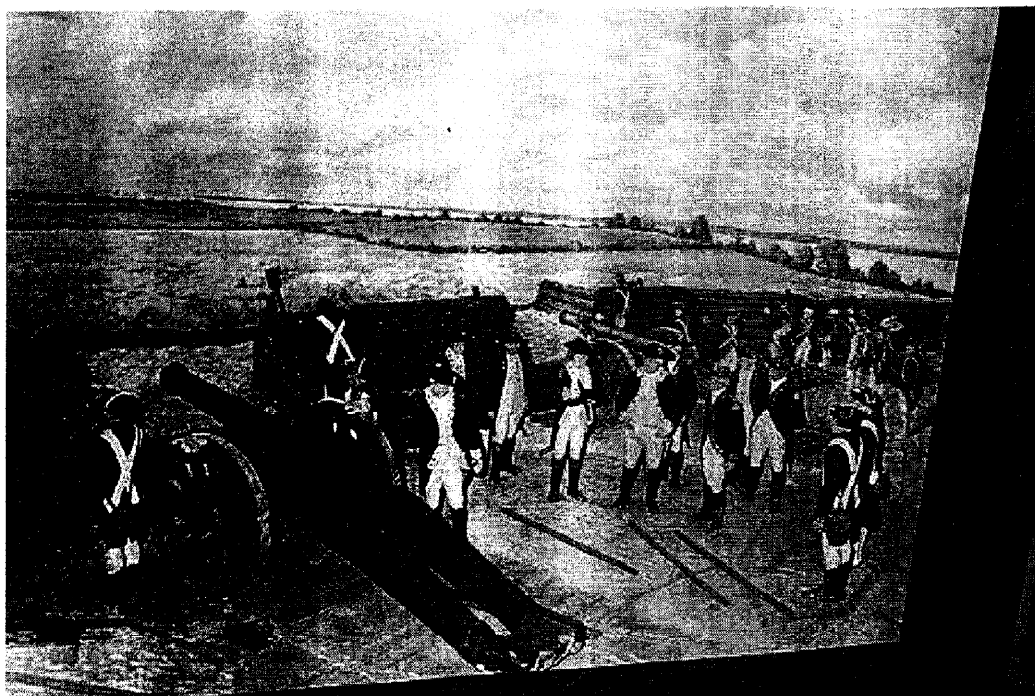


Member of a Staff Ride at the First Allied Siege Line examining a French Howitzer.

SGT Martin gave his view of this event:³⁶

The whole number, American and French, was ninety-two cannon, mortars and howitzers. Our flagstaff was in the ten-gun battery, upon the right of the whole. I was in the trenches the day that the batteries were to be opened. All were upon the tiptoe of expectation and impatience to see the signal given to open the whole line of batteries, which was to be the hoisting of the American flag in the ten-gun battery. About noon, the much-wished-for signal went up....A simultaneous discharge of all the guns in the line followed, the French

troops accompanying it with "Huzza for the Americans!" It was said that the first shell sent from our batteries entered an elegant house formerly owned or occupied by the Secretary of State under the British government, and burned directly over a table surrounded by a large party of British officers at dinner, killing and wounding a number of them. This was a warm day to the British.



A diorama in the Yorktown Visitor's Center depicting the opening of the Allied artillery bombardment on the British, 9 October 1781.

A warm day indeed, as Captain Samuel Graham, of the 76th Regiment reported, the shot hit a party of officers from the 76th who were at dinner in Secretary Nelson's fine house. British Commissary-general Perkins was with them. The shot wounded the quartermaster and adjutant of the 76th but killed the commissary general.

Another officer, Major Cochrane who arrived on the 10th with dispatches from Clinton to Cornwallis was out at the lines and fired one of the guns himself. When he looked over the parapet to see the effects of his fire, a ball from the Americans "carried away his head" and narrowly missed Cornwallis, who was standing next to him.

By 11 October 52 pieces of artillery were firing from Allied batteries, nearly silencing return British fire. Cornwallis wrote to Clinton:³⁷

We have lost about seventy men, and many of our works are considerably damaged. With such works, on disadvantageous ground, against so powerful an attack we cannot hope to make a very long resistance. [By 5 PM, he added]. Since my last letter was written we have lost thirty men.

FROM THIS POSITION, WALK OVER THE FIRST PARALLEL, PAST THE NATIONAL CEMETERY AND OVER TO A LOCATION WHERE YOU CAN VIEW THE BRITISH LINE AND THE REDOUBTS.

STOP #11: SECOND ALLIED PARALLEL

ESTIMATED TIME AT THIS STOP = 20 - 30 mins.

Points to Discuss:

1. Second Parallel opened on October 11th³⁸

Located in the center of the open plain (in 1781 the treeline was situated several hundred yards further south, beyond the first siege line. At this point, the Allies were within 450 yards of the British inner defense line.

- A 'no mans land' existed throughout the siege between the Allied and British lines
- The Allies dug the left portion of the line on the night of 11 Oct but were unable to complete because Redoubts 9 and 10 blocked the way.
- The two British Redoubts had been constructed on the high ground on Cornwallis' left to dominate the open plain and it was essential for the Allies to capture them before the siege could proceed.

From this position, it is easy to see how the redoubts dominated the open plain and provided an excellent view of the entire area. It also is easy to see the exact relationship between the second siege line and the British inner defense line and to understand why capturing the redoubts was so important to the Allies. From this position, Allied artillery would command the entire length of the British line on the south side of Yorktown.

Second Parallel: After long range fire took its toll, a second parallel constructed about 300 yards out of the fortification. Guns would be moved forward and from this position, could conduct highly accurate, direct fire aiming and had counterbattery fire as a primary function. If properly executed, a second parallel would limit the defenders fire to small arms and grenades.



View from the Second Parallel looking toward the British Lines. Redoubt #9 can Be seen in the center of the photo where there is a break in the trees.

2. From this position, the Allies intensified the bombardment of the British line, but also were close enough to feel the effects of the enemy fire on the Second Trench line.

Dr. James Thatcher, a Continental Army Surgeon described what the situation was like in the trenches:³⁹

We have now made further approaches to the town by throwing up a second parallel line and batteries within about three hundred yards; . . . the engines of war have raged with redoubled fury and destruction on both sides, no cessation day or night. . . . I have a fine opportunity of witnessing the sublime and stupendous scene. . . . The bombshells from the besiegers and the besieged are incessantly crossing each other's path in the air. They are clearly visible in the form of a black ball in the day, but in the night they appear like a fiery meteor with a blazing tail. . . . It is astonishing with what accuracy an experienced gunner will make his calculations, that a shell shall fall within a few feet of a given point, and burst at the precise time. . . . When a shell falls, it whirls round, burrows, and excavates the earth to a considerable extent and, bursting, make dreadful havoc around. I have more that once witnessed fragments of the mangled bodies and limbs of the British soldiers thrown into the air by the bursting of our shells.

3. At this position, the British attempted a sortie against the Allied works on the night of 16 October. This last ditch attempt accomplished little, but it afforded Cornwallis the sole positive point to mention in his report of the siege. According to Cornwallis:⁴⁰

[A] little before daybreak, on the morning of the 16th, I ordered a sortie of about three hundred and fifty men, under the direction of Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, to attack two batteries which appeared to be in the greatest forwardness, and to spike the guns. A detachment of guards, with the 80th company of grenadiers, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Lake, attacked the one; and one of light infantry, under the command of Major Armstrong, attacked the other; and both succeeded, by forcing the redoubts that covered them, spiking eleven guns, and killing or wounding about one hundred of the French troops who had the guard of that part of the trenches, and with little loss on our side. The action, though extremely honorable to the officers and soldiers who executed it, proved of little public advantage; for the cannon having been spiked in a hurry, were soon rendered fit for service again.

A contrasting view of this engagement is given by Washington, who wrote in his letter to Congress on 16 October:⁴¹

The enemy last night made a sortie for the first time. They entered one of the French and one of the American batteries on the second parallel which were unfinished. They had only time to thrust the points of their bayonets into four pieces of the French and tow of the American artillery and break them off, but the spikes were easily extracted. They were repulsed the moment the supporting troops came up, leaving behind them seven or eight dead and six prisoners. The French had four officers and twelve privates killed and wounded, and we had one sergeant mortally wounded.

Colonel Richard Butler, a little closer to the action than the army Commander's in Chief had this to say of the event.⁴²

About twelve o'clock at night [15 October] Major Abercrombie of the British . . . made a sally and passing between two small redoubts that were unfinished [where] the line was weak, got possession of the trench. Thence they pushed rapidly to a French battery and spiked the guns and drove out the people, having killed four or five. Thence to the covert way or communication leading from the first to the second parallel, where they halted. . . the order of the British commandant was, "Push on my brave boys," This was headed by Count de Noailles, who had the command of the covering party, which he ordered to advance and was guided by the "Huzzah" of the British. He ordered the grenadiers to "Charge bayonet and rush on," which they did with great spirit, crying, "Vive le Roi," and to use the British phrase skivered eight of the Guards and Infantry and took twelve prisoners and drove them quite off. The British spiked three guns with the points of bayonets, but our smiths and artillerymen soon cleared all the guns . . . in six hours. . . . Our loss was very trifling, though the British really executed the sortie with secrecy and spirit.

FROM THIS POSITION, WALK EAST ALONG THE TRENCH TO THE ASSAULT POSITION LOCATED AT THE BOTTOM OF THE SMALL RISE BEFORE REACHING MOORE HOUSE ROAD. FROM THIS POSITION, YOU CAN SEE THE REDOUBTS, BUT IT PROVIDES GOOD COVER AND CONCEALMENT FROM ENEMY VIEW.

STOP #12 REDOUBT ASSAULT POSITION

ESTIMATED TIME AT THIS STOP = 20 - 30 min

Points to Discuss:

1. Order of battle: Attack on Redoubt #9⁴³

French: Baron de Viomenil Commanding

- Detachment Commander: Col. William Deuxponts
2IC: Lt.Col. Baron de l'Estrade
400 men of the Regt's. Gatenois and Royal Deuxponts
- Organized into platoon columns with NCO's as guides who had reconnoitered the ground previously.
- 50 men carrying fascines and 8 men carrying ladders
- Reserves; 2nd Battalion/Gatenois Regt.

British Forces: Lt.Col. McPherson and 120 British and Hessians

2. Order of Battle: Attack on Redoubt #10⁴⁴

U.S.: Maj. Gen. Lafayette Commanding

- Detachment Commander: Lt.Col. Hamilton
- 400 men from Gimat's Battalion (5 Conn/2 Mass/1 RI); Hamilton's Battalion (2 NY/2 Conn; and Lauren's Battalion (1 Conn/1 Mass). Element of Sapper's and Miners commanded by Gilliland and Kirkpatrick. Barber in Reserve.

British Forces: Major Campbell with 60 - 70 men.

3. 2nd Example of Hamilton's Theatrics: Issue of Hamilton's Command of the American Task Force.⁴⁵

- Lafayette initially wanted Gimat, a Frenchmen like himself who had joined the American cause in 1777 to have the honor of command. Washington was reported to have approved this decision.
- Hamilton, was field officer of the day (i.e. Duty Officer) who claimed the honor his because he was on duty. He wrote to Washington protesting Lafayette's breach of etiquette in a "spirited and manly letter"
- Washington, because of the recent issue with Hamilton, and the fact that he was in fact officer of the day, directed Lafayette to place Hamilton in command.

4. Plan of Assault (Refer to Johnston Map showing assault on redoubts)

- a. Allies had concentrated fire on these positions during the day of 14 October.
- b. Attack began at @2000 hours – Note differences in assault tactics and techniques:
 - French planned to give time to the axe and fascine men to cut down the abatis and fill up the trench to allow for a more prepared assault.
 - American's had no plan, other than rushing with the bayonet.

Read SGT. Martin's account of the preparation for this assault as the troops awaited near this location:⁴⁶

We arrived at the trenches a little before sunset. I saw several officers fixing bayonets on long staves. I then concluded we were about to make a general assault upon the enemy's works, but before dark I was informed of the whole plan, which was to storm the redoubts, the one by the Americans and the other by the French. . . .At dark the detachment was formed and advanced beyond the trenches and lay down on the ground to await the signal for advancing to the attack, which was to be three shells from a certain battery near where we were lying. All the batteries in our line were silent, and we lay anxiously waiting for the signal. . . Our watchword was "Rochambeau," . . . a good

watchword, for being pronounced Ro-sham-bow, it sounded when pronounced quick, like rush-on-boys. . . We had not lain here long before the expected signal was given. . . The word up, up, up was then reiterated through the detachment. We immediately moved silently on toward the redoubt we were to attack, with unloaded muskets.



Members of a U.S. Army Staff Ride at the approximate location of the Allied Assault positions where they waited for the signal to attack.

FROM THIS POSITION, WALK ACROSS THE FIELD TOWARD REDOUBTS #9 AND #10 AND GO INTO REDOUBT #9. NOTE THE APPEARANCE OF THE ABATISE AND THE HIDDEN TRENCHES FROM VIEW.

STOP #13: REDOUBT #9 and #10

ESTIMATED TIME AT THIS STOP = 40 – 50 min.

Points to Discuss:

1. The Allies captured both of the redoubts in their attack on the night of October 14, the French taking redoubt 9 and the Americans capturing redoubt 10. It is the culminating point of the battle.
 - Immediately after the attack, the Allies completed their second siege line, the Americans began constructing a grand artillery battery adjacent to Redoubt 9
 - These actions make the British position untenable and Cornwallis on the night of October 17 proposed surrender.

2. Assault on Redoubt #9:

The French assault on this position was a by the book tactical maneuver, however, since it was the stronger of the positions, and the French plan was more methodical, it was the most hotly contested and bloody action.



Redoubt #9, the objective of the French assault on the night of 14 October 1781. Note the abatis embedded into the work and the trench in front of the position.

As Col. Duex-Ponts noted in his memoirs:⁴⁷

At a hundred and twenty or thirty paces, we were discovered, and the Hessian soldier . . . on the parapet cried out, “Werda?” to which we did not reply but hastened our steps. The enemy opened fire the instant after the “Werda?” We lost not a moment in reaching the abatis, which . . .at about twenty-five paces from the redoubt, cost us many men and stopped us for some minutes. . .We threw ourselves into the ditch at once, and . . .sought to break through the fraises and to mount the parapet. We reached there at first in the small numbers, and I gave the order to fire. The enemy kept up a sharp fire and charged us at the point of bayonet, but no one was driven back. . . .Our fire was increasing and making terrible havoc among the enemy who had placed themselves behind a kind of entrenchment of barrels, where they were well massed and where all our shots told. We succeeded at the moment when I wished to give the order to leap into the redoubt and charge upon the enemy with the bayonet; then they laid down their arms and . . .I shouted . . .”Vive le Roi!” which was repeated by all. . . the troops. . . I never saw a sight more beautiful or more majestic. . . At the same time, the Baron de Viomenil came to give me orders to be prepared for a vigorous defense, as it would be important for the enemy to retake this work.

From Gallatin, who recorded:⁴⁸

We made prisoners 40 soldiers and 3 officers and counted 18 dead. The rest of the number of 120 escaped by flight. Our loss in this attack was about 80 men killed or wounded. The enemy began at once a very lively fire of cannon and howitzers upon the redoubt. . . .and thus caused the death of many more of our men.

Casualty figures for the French vary among sources from 15 KIA to 46 KIA and 57 WIA to 77 WIA. In any case, the assault force suffered almost 20 – 25% casualties.

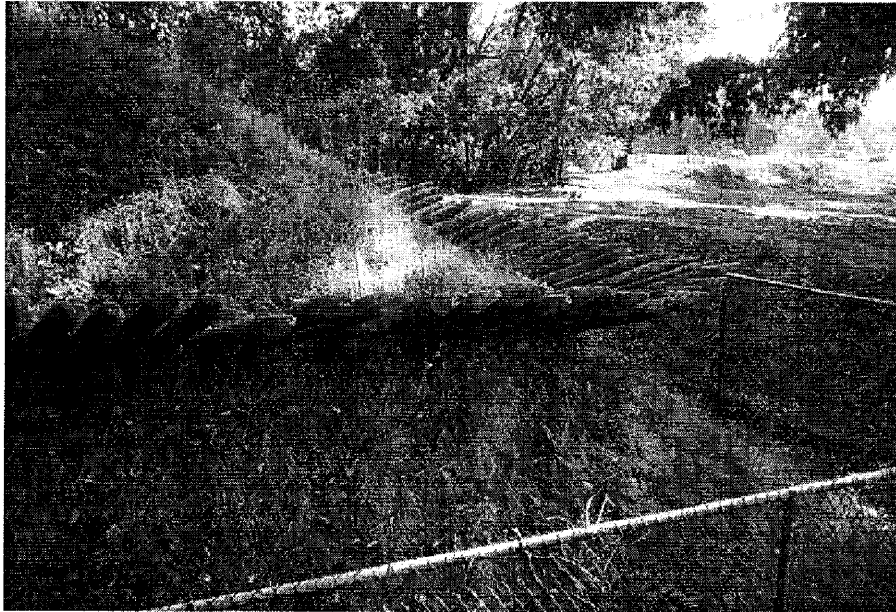
3. Assault on Redoubt #10: The American assault on redoubt #10 went much quicker than the French due to several factors. First, they had a smaller enemy to fight, and second, the tactics of moving around and through the obstacles instead of attempting to remove them enabled a quick victory.

SGT. Martin described this action:⁴⁹

Just as we arrived at the abatis, the enemy discovered us and directly opened a sharp fire upon us. We were now at a place where many of our large shells had burst in the ground, making holes sufficient to bury an ox in. The men, having their eyes fixed upon what was transacting before them, were every now and then falling into these holes. I thought the British were killing us off at a great rate. At length, one of the holes happening to pick me up, I found out the mystery of the huge slaughter. As soon as the firing began, our people began to cry, "The fort's our own!" and it was "Rush on boys". . . I could not pass at the entrance we had made, it was so crowded. I therefore forced a passage at a place where I saw our shot had cut away some of the abatis; several others entered at the same place. While passing, a man at my side received a ball in his head and fell under my feet, crying out bitterly. . . The fort was taken and all quiet in a very short time. . . .All that were in the action of storming the redoubt were exempted from further duty that night. We laid down upon the ground and rested the remainder of the night as well as a constant discharge of grape and canister shot would permit us to do. . . Seven or eight men belonging to the infantry were killed and a number wounded.

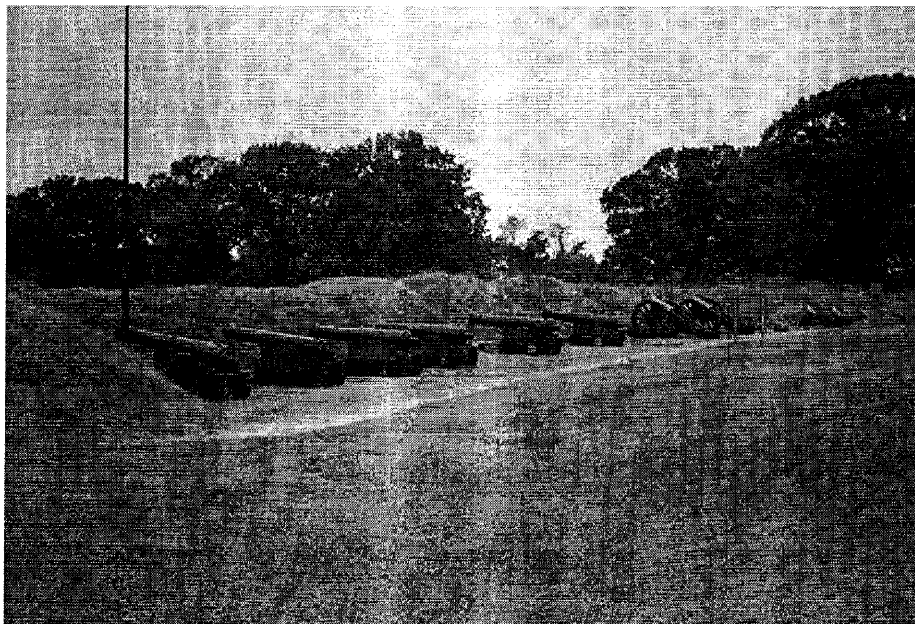
American casualties were 9 KIA and 25-30 WIA. These figures are fairly consistent in the sources.

One of the noncommissioned officer's involved in this assault, Sergeant William Brown of Connecticut, later received a special badge of merit, a 'Medal of Honor' shaped like a purple heart, for his coolness and gallantry during the action at Redoubt #10.



Redoubt #10, the objective of the American assault. This position has greatly eroded over the years and is now protected by a fence.

4. Effects of the Capture of the redoubts: Movement of 2nd Siege Line forward. It rained later that night, but work parties continued to work to improve and reorient the positions toward the British line. By the next day, the Allied Second Siege Line was complete and the Americans moved their Artillery batteries forward into a formidable position. A vigorous cannonade on the 15th and 16th decided the action and prompted a decision by Cornwallis.



Allied batteries in the completed 2nd Parallel

5. Third Example of Hamilton's Theatrics: Hamilton continued to firmly establish himself in history during the consolidation of the position on the redoubts. At one point, he got into an argument with the chief of artillery, Gen. Henry Knox about the "soldierliness" of trying to avoid being hit by enemy missiles. In the British positions, there were sandbag-type defenses, which could be used for protection from shells. The argument between the officers was reported by a Connecticut soldier, Aeneas Monson, went something like this:⁵⁰

A general order had been given that when a shell was seen, they might cry out, "A shell," . . . This order was just then discussed, Colonel Hamilton remarking that it seemed to him unsoldierlike to halloo, "A shell," while Knox contended the contrary and that the order was wisely given by General Washington, who cared for the life of the men . . . The argument . . . was progressed with a slight degree of warmth when suddenly, spat! Spat! Two shells fell and struck within the redoubt. Instantly a cry broke out on all sides, "A shell, A shell!" and such a scrambling and jumping to reach the blinds and get behind them for defense. Knox and Hamilton were united in action, however differing in word, for both got behind the blinds, and Hamilton to be yet more secure held on behind Knox. (Knox being a very large man and Hamilton a small man). Upon this Knox struggled to throw Hamilton off and in the effort himself . . . rolled over and threw Hamilton off towards the shells. Hamilton, however, scrambled back again behind the blinds. All this was done rapidly, for in two minutes the shells burst and threw their deadly missiles in all directions. It was now safe and soldierlike to stand out. "Now," says Knox, "now what do you think, Mr. Hamilton, about crying 'shell'? But let me tell you not to make a breastwork of me again!"

NOW MOVE TO A POSITION BETWEEN THE REDOUBTS TO VIEW THE BRITISH LINE AND PREPARE TO DISCUSS THE ACTIONS OF THE CEASE-FIRE. THIS IS STOP #14

STOP #14: SURRENDER NEGOTIATIONS

ESTIMATED TIME AT THIS STOP = 10 – 15 mins.

Points to Discuss:

1. On the 15th October, Cornwallis wrote to Clinton informing him of the impending close of the battle and his reasons for capitulating.⁵¹

My situation now becomes very critical. We dare not show a gun to their old batteries, and I expect that their new ones will open tomorrow morning. Experience has shown that our fresh earthen works do not resist their powerful artillery, so that we shall soon be exposed to an assault in ruined works, in a bad position, and with weakened numbers. The safety of the place is, therefore, so precarious that I cannot recommend that the fleet and army should run great risk in endeavoring to save us.

By this time it has been estimated that between October 9 – 17, the Allies had fired 9,690 shots and 5,847 shells at the British defenses. From October 15 to 17, the allies employed over 100 guns of various calibers to pound the enemy into submission.⁵²

2. About 1000 in the morning, Cornwallis had a drummer mount the works and signal for a cease-fire. As Lt. Ebenezer Denny reported:⁵³

Oct 17th – In the morning, before relief came, had the pleasure of seeing a drummer mount the enemy's parapet, and beat a parley, and immediately an officer, holding up a white handkerchief, made his appearance out side their works; the drummer accompanied him, beating. Our batteries ceased. An officer from our lines ran and met the other, and tied the handkerchief over his eyes. The drummer sent back, and the British officer conducted to a house in the rear of our lines. Firing ceased totally.

The British proposed a 24-hour cease-fire in order to negotiate surrender terms. Cornwallis hoped to obtain the best conditions he could for his army and proposed to Washington that his troops be made prisoners of war, with honors, but be allowed to return to their home countries. In order to work out the details of the capitulation, the two parties met at Mr. Augustine Moore's house to draw up terms.

3. Discuss the terms and points of contention during negotiation regarding honors of war.

- Washington insisted the British be treated the same as the Americans had been during the surrender at Charleston. The American commander there, Gen'l Benjamin Lincoln, was denied the honors of war, which included marching out with flags flying, drums beating, and fully armed. Tradition was the bands would play a march of the conqueror as a last show of defiance in defeat, but with honor. Humiliation was not ordinarily the objective. However, it was the objective of Gen'l Clinton to do so to the American army.
- Washington instructed his negotiators, Col. John Laurens and Viscount de Noailles to contest any such request on part of Cornwallis' negotiators, Col. Thomas Dundas and Maj Alexander Ross.
- Ross protested the "harsh article" instructing the British to march with cased colors and drums beating a British or German march. When told those were the terms given Lincoln at Charleston, Ross stated that Cornwallis did not command there, where Laurens replied, "It is not the individual that is here considered. It is the nation. This remains an article or I cease to be a commissioner."⁵⁴

With no other hope to obtain better terms, the articles were sent to Yorktown with a note from Washington for Cornwallis to either accept the terms or face a renewed bombardment within two hours. Cornwallis signed the terms. Washington and Rochambeau signed the document here in the redoubts.

[SEE APPENDIX WITH ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION]

FROM THIS POINT, BOARD THE BUS AND FOLLOW THE PARK ROUTE THAT WILL TAKE YOU TO THE SURRENDER FIELD (OR THE MOORE HOUSE AS AN OPTION). DURING THE MOVEMENT TO THE FIELD, NOTE THE ALLIED REAR AREA AND LOGISTICS SUPPORT LOCATIONS. AT SURRENDER FIELD, DISMOUNT THE BUS AND WALK TO THE OVERLOOK OR THE FIELD.

STOP #15 – SURRENDER FIELD

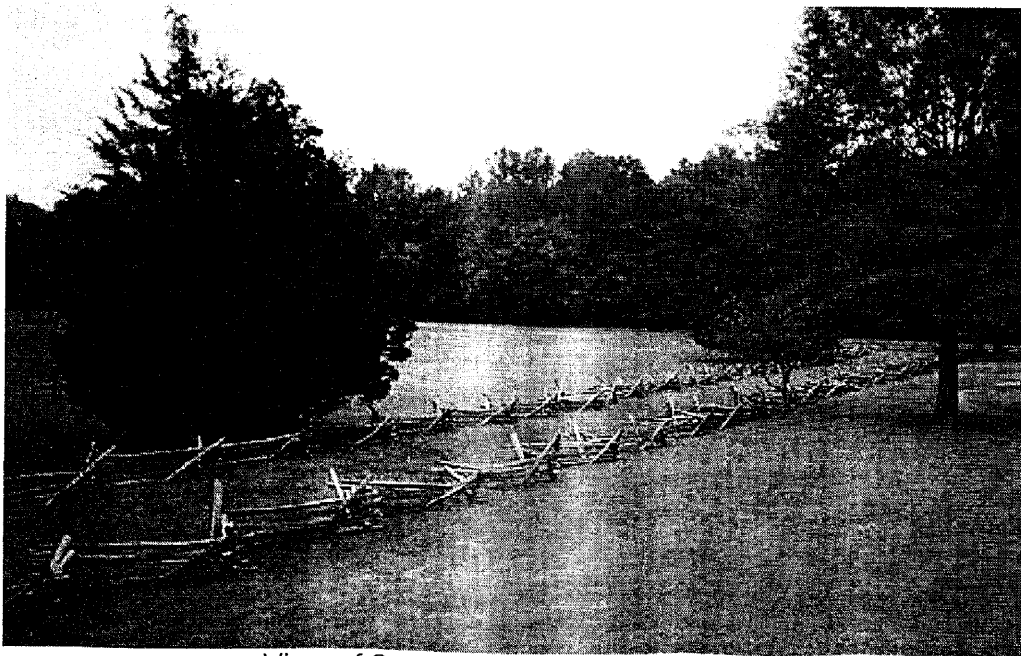
ESTIMATED TIME AT THIS STOP = 20 - 30 mins.

Points to Discuss:

1. Articles of Capitulation dictated a formal ceremony and surrender of arms at this location. The British surrendered 7,157 soldiers, 80 camp followers, and over 840 sailors to the Allied Army.

[SEE APPENDIX WITH RETURN OF PRISONERS]

2. Describe the scene of surrender as recounted by Lt.Col. Richard Henry Lee, who was an officer on Gen'l Greene's staff. Lee had brought dispatches from Greene to Washington and found himself in the middle of this grand event. The irony of history can not go unnoticed by Lee's presence at the surrender of a major enemy army in the state of Virginia.
 - Note significance of this surrender in Virginia – though war did not officially end, this act marked the end of the war
 - Lee's son, Gen. Robert E. Lee, would surrender his Army of Northern Virginia at Appomatox 84 years later, the only other major U.S. war concluded for all practical purposes in the state: The American Civil War.

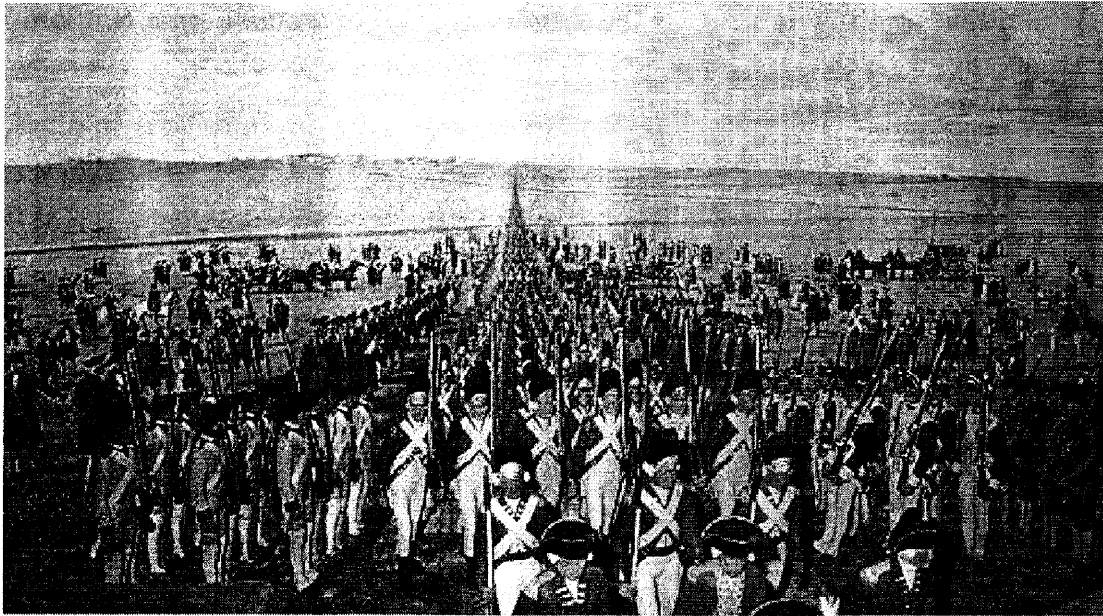


View of Surrender Field at Yorktown

Like many eyewitness accounts of this event, the details are all similar. Lee wrote:⁵⁵

At two o'clock in the evening the British Army, led by General O'Hara, marched out of its lines with colors cased, and drums beating a British march. [I] was present at this ceremony; and certainly no spectacle could be more impressive than the one now exhibited. Valiant troops yielding up their arms after fighting in defense of a cause dear to them . . . The road through which they marched was lined with spectators, French and American. On one side the commander-in-chief, surrounded by his suite and the American staff, took his station; on the other side, opposite him, was the Count de Rochambeau in like manner attended. The captive army approached, moving slowly in column with grace and precision. Universal silence was observed amidst the vast concourse, and the utmost decency prevailed; exhibiting in demeanor an awful sense of the vicissitudes of human fortune, mingled with commiseration for the unhappy. The head of the column approached the commander in chief; O'Hara, mistaking the circle, turned to that on his left for the purpose of paying his respects to the commander-in-chief, and requesting further orders; when quickly discovering his error, with much embarrassment in his countenance, flew across the road, and advancing up to Washington, asked pardon for his mistake, apologized for the absence of Lord Cornwallis, and begged to know his further pleasure. The General, feeling his embarrassment, relieved it by referring him to General Lincoln for his government. Returning to the head of the column, it moved under the guidance of Lincoln to the field selected for the conclusion of the ceremony. Every eye was turned, searching for the British commander, . . . anxious to look at that man, heretofore so much the object of their dread. All were disappointed. Cornwallis held himself back from the humiliating scene; . . . There was nothing with which he could reproach himself; there was nothing with which he could reproach his brave and faithful army; why not then

appear at its head in the day of misfortune, as he had always done in the day of triumph? The British general in this instance deviated from his usual line of conduct, dimming the splendor of his long and brilliant career.



A diorama in the visitor's center depicting the British surrender

3. In addition to prisoners, the British surrendered:

- 140 iron cannon
- 74 brass cannon
- 22 mortars
- 300 barrels of powder
- 7,326 muskets
- 22 stands of colors (18 German/6 British)
- 455 horses
- 62 transport ships (various sizes)
- 2 sloops of war
- 1 frigate

4. Discuss the events that occurred immediately following the ceremony.⁵⁶
- The British officers, including Cornwallis, were sent to New York on parole. Prior to their departure, the officers of the allied armies competed to demonstrate the 18th century sense of social protocol and throw elaborate dinners and socials with the vanquished enemy officers. Washington and Rochambeau held dinners with Cornwallis and his officers where they compared notes and shared information that completed the story of the battle. An example of the competition and value placed on these events, Von Steuben had to borrow almost \$2,000 so that he could play host and keep his honor intact.

Cornwallis made note of these events in his AAR to Clinton, stating:⁵⁷

The treatment, in general, that we have received from the enemy since our surrender, has been perfectly good and proper: But the kindness and attention that has been shown to us by the French officers in particular, their delicate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offer of money, both public and private, to any amount, has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every officer, when ever the fortune of war should put any of them into our power.

As the senior leaders wined and dined, Lt. Ebenezer Denny recorded some different impressions of events after the surrender and the situation of thousands of troops in Yorktown attempting to satisfy long neglected needs. Denny wrote:⁵⁸

Much confusion and riot among the British through the day; many of the soldiers were intoxicated; several attempts in course of the night to break open stores; an American sentinel killed by a British soldier with a bayonet; our patrols kept busy. Glad to be relieved from this disagreeable station. Negroes lie about, sick and dying, in every stage of the small pox. Never was in so filthy a place – some handsome houses, but prodigiously shattered. Vast heaps of shot and shells lying about . . . Fine supply of stores and merchandise had; articles suitable for clothing were taken for the use of the army. A portion furnished each officer to the amount of sixty dollars.

5. Prisoners of War: The terms of surrender stipulated that the prisoners would be kept in Virginia (including what is now West Virginia), Maryland, or Pennsylvania. Most prisoners were finally stationed at Winchester, VA, and near Fort Frederick, MD.
- Though employment of prisoners was not officially provided for, some instances did occur. Those with expertise in ordnance repair and teamsters with horses and wagons were employed in the service of the Continental Army. Eventually Congress relaxed the laws prohibiting use of prisoners for labor and provided for their employment on a reimbursable basis of four dollars a month to the Superintendent of Finance.
 - Some unique methods were used to repatriate or absorb POWs into the American population following the Treaty of Paris in 1783 formally ending the Revolutionary War. Many Hessians bought their freedom at the expense of labor to obtain the ransom of 80 dollars.
 - Almost 6,000 Hessians stayed in the United States, and along with many British POWs and deserters, were important to the development of the wool and clothing industry.
6. On this same day, Washington wrote a letter to Congress informing them of the allied victory. Congress passed a resolution that all would go to the Dutch Lutheran Church and thank God for the victory of the United States and France over the British. On Monday, 29 October 1781, Congress passed another resolution thanking Washington, Rochambeau and DeGrasse for their application of military skill that led to victory.

[SEE APPENDIX WITH WASHINGTON'S REPORT AND CONGRESS' RESOLUTION]

FROM THIS LOCATION, BOARD THE BUS AND RETURN TO THE VISITOR'S CENTER.
GO TO THE OVERLOOK AT THE TOP OF THE CENTER, REVIEW THE BATTLEFIELD,
AND DISCUSS CONCLUDING ISSUES.

STOP #16 – VISITOR’S CENTER/WRAP UP.

ESTIMATED TIME AT THIS STOP = 20 – 30 min.

Points to Discuss:

1. Review the objectives of the Staff Ride:
 - a. Development of U.S. Military Policy (Total Army AC/RC roles)
 - b. Development of the U.S. Army as an institution
 - c. Execution of Joint/Combined operations between French and U.S. Forces, naval and army components.
 - d. Specific studies of 18th Century military movements, logistics and engineering operations.
 - e. Reinforce an interest in the heritage of the U.S. Army
2. How do we answer the question - Did the British lose Yorktown, or did the Allies win Yorktown?
 - a. The perspective of the British losing implies that it was not due to the Allies skill, but more to blundering and mistakes on part of Cornwallis or others. This is the view most British supporters would take, in effect denying that the loss could be attributed to a better army. In this view, attributions include:
 - British faced insurmountable logistical problems
 - Suffered from bad political leadership and strategic direction
 - Inability to sustain the war effort with manpower reserves
 - b. The perspective of the Allies winning implies a martial superiority over the enemy and a skill of taking advantage of events to influence the final decision.
3. Many factors were inextricably woven together to produce the culminating victory of Yorktown. Below are some offered by various historians:⁵⁹
 - Gen. George Washington: his leadership was a principle factor in American success. He was the “divine providence” available to the Revolution who through his character, abilities, and dedication, provided the right leadership for the time.
 - Like Washington, American leaders, such as Wayne, Knox and Lafayette, are credited with being more resourceful and imaginative than their British

counterparts. Ability to use tactical mobility to outmaneuver and stay ahead of the enemy, or disappear at will.

- The dedication of the Continental rank and file to the cause produced astonishing results. The training provided by Von Steuben and discipline that resulted had formed a solid, dependable force Washington and other commanders used to leaven their armies. The Continental army was better organized and allowed greater command and control at the brigade level. Tactically, the use of the two rank formation, aimed fire and artillery fire aimed at infantry, were very effective against the more conservative British techniques.
- The militia, who could appear and vanish at will against the British, causing the enemy to swing wildly and never strike a decisive blow. Washington recognized that this institution needed to remain a component of American military policy, and the concept of a "well regulated militia" trained in a uniform fashion was required to be most effective. In addition, special units such as the partisan corps and rifle corps provided unique combat multipliers to the equation.
- French military, economic, and political aid provided the means for the Americans to win. France served as the "arsenal of democracy" for the American Revolution. In addition, French Naval support proved to be the key strategic factor in checking the British navy and disrupt their ability to quickly move British ground forces along the coast.

¹Lynn L. Sims, "American Support Activities Before Yorktown," (n.p./n/d), 5-6.

²General Orders, Headquarters, Williamsburg, September 15, 16, 17, 19, 24, and 25, 1781. Cited in Henry P. Johnston, The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1881; reprint Eastern National, 1997), 199-201.

³Ebenezer Denny, Military Journal, (Philadelphia, 1859), 39-40

⁴George Washington, General Orders, Headquarters Williamsburgh, September, 27, 1781.

⁵Joseph P. Martin, A Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary Soldier. Ed. George F. Scheer, (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1962; reprint Eastern Acorn Press, 1997), 228-229.

⁶Captains Hudson, Symonds, and Everitt to Lord Cornwallis, Hampton Road, 24 July 1781.

⁷Lt. Sutherland to Lord Cornwallis, Hampton Road, 25 July 1781.

⁸Lt. Gen Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, Yorktown, October 20, 1781.

⁹Lt. Gen Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, Yorktown, October 20, 1781.

¹⁰Johann Ewald, Diary of the American War, (Tustin Translation, 1979).

¹¹Clinton's Observations on Cornwallis' Answer, 20.

¹²Lynn L. Sims, notes provided to Steven J. Rauch, July 1998.

¹³Lynn L. Sims, notes provided to Steven J. Rauch, July 1998.

¹⁴Johann C. Dohla, Tagebuch eines Bayreuther Soldaten, Bayreuth, 1913. (Translation in the Library of the Colonial National Historical Park, Yorktown, VA), 148.

¹⁵Notes taken during a guided tour in August 1998 given by Michael D. Litterst, Operations Supervisor, Colonial National Historical Park.

¹⁶Notes taken during a guided tour in August 1998 given by Michael D. Litterst, Operations Supervisor, Colonial National Historical Park.

¹⁷This is a synthesis of a longer paper on the town of Yorktown by Charles E. Hatch, Jr. of the Colonial National Historical Park, n.d.

¹⁸Stephen Popp, "Journal, 1777-1783," Pennsylvania Magazine of History 26 (1902): 41.

¹⁹Notes taken during a guided tour in August 1998 given by Michael D. Litterst, Operations Supervisor, Colonial National Historical Park.

²⁰National Park Service, "A Guided Terrain Hike Through Yorktown Battlefield," n.p./n.d.: 2.

²¹Lt. Gen Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, Yorktown, October 20, 1781.

²²NPS, "Terrain Hike," 3.

¹Lynn L. Sims, "American Support Activities Before Yorktown," (n.p./n/d), 5-6.

²General Orders, Headquarters, Williamsburg, September 15, 16, 17, 19, 24, and 25, 1781. Cited in Henry P. Johnston, The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1881; reprint Eastern National, 1997), 199-201.

³Ebenezer Denny, Military Journal, (Philadelphia, 1859), 39-40

⁴George Washington, General Orders, Headquarters Williamsburgh, September, 27, 1781.

⁵Joseph P. Martin, A Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary Soldier. Ed. George F. Scheer, (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1962; reprint Eastern Acorn Press, 1997), 228-229.

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¹⁸Stephen Popp, "Journal, 1777-1783," Pennsylvania Magazine of History 26 (1902): 41.

¹⁹Notes taken during a guided tour in August 1998 given by Michael D. Litterst, Operations Supervisor, Colonial National Historical Park.

²⁰National Park Service, "A Guided Terrain Hike Through Yorktown Battlefield," n.p./n.d.: 2.

²¹Lt. Gen Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, Yorktown, October 20, 1781.

²²NPS, "Terrain Hike," 3.

²³Gaspard de Gallatin, Journal of the Siege of Yorktown, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1931): 4-5.

²⁴NPS, "Terrain Hike," 4-5.

²⁵George Washington to the President of Congress, Camp before York, October 1, 1781.

²⁶Richard Butler, "Journal of the Siege of Yorktown," Historical Magazine, 8 (March, 1864): 102-112.

²⁷Denny, Journal, 41.

²⁸James Duncan, "Diary . . . of Colonel Moses Hazen's Regiment. In the Yorktown Campaign, 1781, Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd Series, 15, 748.

²⁹George Washington to the President of Congress, Camp before York, October 6, 1781.

³⁰NPS, "Terrain Hike," 5.

³¹Lynn L. Sims, "Stages of a Siege in the Eighteenth Century," notes to Steven J. Rauch and Johnston, The Yorktown Campaign, 136.

³²Martin, "Narrative," 230-232.

³³Cited in Johnston, The Yorktown Campaign, 136.

³⁴Cited in Johnston, The Yorktown Campaign, 137.

³⁵Duncan, "Diary," 749.

³⁶Martin, "Narrative," 233-234.

³⁷Lt. Gen Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, Yorktown, October 20, 1781.

³⁸NPS, "Terrain Hike," 6.

³⁹James Thacher, A Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War, (1862).

⁴⁰Lt. Gen Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, Yorktown, October 20, 1781.

⁴¹George Washington to the President of Congress, Headquarters before York, October 16, 1781.

⁴²Butler, "Journal," 110.

⁴³Johnston, The Yorktown Campaign, 142.

⁴⁴Johnston, The Yorktown Campaign, 143.

⁴⁵Henry Lee, The American Revolution in the South, ed. Robert E. Lee, (New York: University Publishing Co., 1869; reprint Arno Press, Inc., 1969), 501.

⁴⁶Martin, "Narrative," 234-235.

⁴⁷William D. Deux-Ponts, My Campaigns in America, trans. Samuel A. Green, (Boston: 1868), 144-147.

⁴⁸Gallatin, Journal, 12-13.

⁴⁹Martin, "Narrative," 235-237.

⁵⁰Cited in Hugh F. Rankin and George F. Scheer, Rebels and Redcoats, (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1957, reprint Da Capo Press, n.d.), 489.

⁵¹Lt. Gen Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, Yorktown, October 20, 1781.

⁵²Sims, "American Support Activities," 12.

⁵³Denny, Journal, 44.

⁵⁴Johnston, The Yorktown Campaign, 155.

⁵⁵Lee, Revolution in the South, 512-513.

⁵⁶George G. Lewis and John Mewha, History of Prisoner of War Utilization by the United States Army 1776 – 1945, (Washington DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1955; reprint 1982,1988), 18-21.

⁵⁷Lt. Gen Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, Yorktown, October 20, 1781.

⁵⁸Denny, Journal, 45.

⁵⁹Maurice Matloff, ed. American Military History, (Washington DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1969), 81-83.; Robert K. Wright, The Continental Army, (Washington DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1983), 182-186.

APPENDIX I
ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION

ART. I. THE garrisons of York and Gloucester, including the officers and seamen of His Britannic Majesty's ships, as well as other mariners, to surrender themselves prisoners of war to the combined forces of America and France. The land troops to remain prisoners to the United States; the navy to the naval army of His Most Christian Majesty.

GRANTED.

ART. II. The artillery, arms, accoutrements, military chest, and public stores of every denomination, shall be delivered, unimpaired, to the heads of departments appointed to receive them.

GRANTED.

ART. III. At twelve o'clock this day the two redoubts on the left flank of York to be delivered; the one to a detachment of American infantry; the other to a detachment of French grenadiers.

GRANTED.

THE garrison of York will march out to a place to be appointed in front of the posts, at two o'clock precisely, with shouldered arms, colours cased, and drums beating a British or German march. They are then to ground their arms, and return to their encampments, where they will remain until they are dispatched to the places of their destination. Two works on the Gloucester side will be delivered at one o'clock to a detachment of French and American troops appointed to possess them. The garrison will march out at three o'clock in the afternoon; the cavalry, with their swords drawn, trumpets sounding; and the infantry in the manner prescribed for the garrison of York. They are likewise to return to their encampments until they can be finally marched off.

ART. IV. Officers are to retain their side arms. Both officers and soldiers to keep their private property of every kind, and no part of their baggage or papers to be at any time subject to search or inspection. The baggage and papers of officers and soldiers taken during the siege to be likewise preserved for them.

GRANTED.

It is understood, that any property, obviously belonging to the inhabitants of these states, in the possession of the garrison, shall be subject to be reclaimed.

ART. V. The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania, and as much by regiments as possible, and supplied with the same rations of provisions as are allowed to soldiers in the service of America. A field officer from each nation, to wit, British, Anspach, and Hessian, and other officers on parole, in the proportion of one to fifty men, to be allowed to reside near their respective regiments, to visit them frequently, and be witnesses of their treatment; and that their officers may receive and deliver cloathing and other necessaries for them; for which passports are to be granted when applied for.

GRANTED.

ART. VI. The general, staff, and other officers, not employed as mentioned in the above articles, and who chuse it, to be permitted to go on parole to Europe, to New York, or any other American maritime ports at present in the possession of the British forces, at their own option, and proper vessels to be granted by the Count de Grasse to carry them under flags of truce to New York within ten days from this date, if possible, and they to reside in a district, to be agreed upon hereafter, until they embark.

THE officers of the civil department of the army and navy to be included in this article. Passports to go by land to be granted to those to whom vessels cannot be furnished.

GRANTED.

ART. VII. Officers to be allowed to keep soldiers as servants, according to the common practice of the service. Servants, not soldiers, are not to be considered as prisoners, and are to be allowed to attend their masters.

GRANTED.

ART. VIII. The Bonetta sloop of war to be equipped, and navigated by its present captain and crew, and left entirely at the disposal of Lord Cornwallis from the hour that the capitulation is signed, to receive an aid-de-camp to carry dispatches to Sir Henry Clinton; and such soldiers as he may think proper to send to New York, to be permitted to sail without examination, when his dispatches are ready. His lordship engages, on his part, that the ship shall be delivered to the order of the Count de Grasse, if she escapes the dangers of the sea; that she shall not carry off any public stores. Any part of the crew that may be deficient on her return, and the soldiers passengers, to be accounted for on her delivery.

ART. IX. The traders are to preserve their property, and to be allowed three months to dispose of or remove them ; and those traders are not to be considered as prisoners of war.

THE traders will be allowed to dispose of their effects, the allied army having the right of pre-emption. The traders to be considered as prisoners of war upon parole.

ART. X. Natives or inhabitants of different parts of this country, at present in York or Gloucester, are not to be punished on account of having joined the British army.

THIS article cannot be assented to, being altogether of civil resort.

ART. XI. Proper hospitals to be furnished for the sick and wounded. They are to be attended by their own surgeons on parole ; and they are to be furnished with medicines and stores from the American hospitals.

THE hospital stores now in York and Gloucester shall be delivered for the use of the British sick and wounded. Passports will be granted for procuring them farther supplies from New York, as occasion may require ; and proper hospitals will be furnished for the reception of the sick and wounded of the two garrisons.

ART. XII. Waggon to be furnished to carry the baggage of the officers attending the soldiers, and to surgeons when travelling on account of the sick, attending the hospitals at public expence.

THEY are to be furnished if possible.

ART. XIII. The shipping and boats in the two harbours, with all their stores, guns, tackling, and apparel, shall be delivered up in their present state to an officer of the navy appointed to take possession of them, previously unloading the private property, part of which had been on board for security during the siege.

GRANTED.

ART. XIV. No article of capitulation to be infringed on pretence of reprisals ; and if there be any doubtful expressions in it, they are to be interpreted according to the common meaning and acceptation of the words.

GRANTED.

Done at York town, in
Virginia, October 19, 1781.
CORNWALLIS.
THOMAS SYMONDS.

Done in the trenches before York town, in Virginia,
October 19, 1781.

G. WASHINGTON.
Le Comte de ROCHAMBEAU.
Le Comte de BARRAS, en mon
nom & celui du Comte de Grasse.

I.—*General Return of Officers and Privates Surrendered Prisoners of War, the 19th of October, 1781, to the Allied Army under Command of his Excellency General Washington—taken from the Original Muster-rolls.*

[illegible]

THOMAS DURE,

Deputy Commissary of Prisoners.

Camp near Yorktown, 27th October, 1781.

N. B.—Since finishing the above Return I find unaccounted for—1 Ensign Loyal Foresters, 1 Wagon Master, 6 Conductors, 5 Artificers, 1 Clerk to the Deputy Quartermaster-general.

(Signed) Thomas Burke, D.C.F.

(From Archives, State Dept. Library, Washington, D. C.)

October 28, 1781.

APPENDIX 3 - WASHINGTON'S REPORT TO CONGRESS

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters near York, October 19, 1781.

Sir: I have the Honor to inform Congress, that a Reduction of the British Army under the Command of Lord Cornwallis, is most happily effected. The unremitting Ardor which actuated every Officer and Soldier in the combined Army on this Occasion, has principally led to this Important Event, at an earlier period than my most sanguine Hopes had induced me to expect.

The singular Spirit of Emulation, which animated the whole Army from the first Commencement of our Operations, has filled my Mind with the highest pleasure and Satisfaction, and had given me the happiest presages of Success.

On the 17th instant, a Letter was received from Lord Cornwallis, proposing a Meeting of Commissioners, to consult on Terms for the Surrender of the Posts of York and Gloucester. This Letter (the first which had passed between us) opened a Correspondence, a Copy of which I do myself the Honor to

inclose; that Correspondence was followed by the Definitive Capitulation, which was agreed to, and Signed on the 19th. Copy of which is also herewith transmitted, and which I hope, will meet the Approbation of Congress.⁹⁹

I should be wanting in the feelings of Gratitude, did I not mention on this Occasion, with the warmest Sense of Acknowledgements, the very chearfull and able Assistance, which I have received in the Course of our Operations, from his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, and all his Officers of every Rank, in their respective Capacities. Nothing could equal this Zeal of our Allies, but the emulating Spirit of the American Officers, whose Ardor would not suffer their Exertions to be exceeded.

The very uncommon Degree of Duty and Fatigue which the Nature of the Service required from the Officers of Engineers and Artillery of both Armies, obliges me particularly to mention the Obligations I am under to the Commanding and other Officers of those Corps.

I wish it was in my Power to express to Congress, how much I feel myself indebted to The Count de Grasse and the Officers of the Fleet under his Command for the distinguished Aid and Support which have been afforded by them; between whom, and the Army, the most happy Concurrence of Sentiments and Views have subsisted, and from whom, every possible Cooperation has been experienced, which the most harmonious Inter-course could afford.

Returns of the Prisoners, Military Stores, Ordnance Shipping and other Matters. I shall do myself the Honor to transmit to Congress as soon as they can be collected by the Heads of Departments, to which they belong.

Colo. Laurens and the Viscount de Noiailles, on the Part of the combined Army, were the Gentlemen who acted as Commissioners for forming and setting the Terms of Capitulation and Surrender herewith transmitted, to whom I am particularly obliged for their Readiness and Attention exhibited on the Occasion.

Colo. Tilghman, one of my Aids de Camp, will have the Honor to deliver these Dispatches to your Excellency;¹¹ he will be able to inform you of every minute Circumstance which is not particularly mentioned in my Letter: his Merits, which are too well known to need my observations at this time, have gained my particular Attention, and could wish that they may be honored with the Notice of your Excellency and Congress.

Your Excellency and Congress will be pleased to accept my Congratulations on this happy Event, and believe me to be With the highest Respect etc.

P. S. Tho' I am not possessed of the Particular Returns, yet I have reason to suppose that the Number of Prisoners will be between five and Six thousand, exclusive of Seamen and others.¹²

APPENDIX 4 - CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION
Journals of Congress

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1781

A letter, of 19, from General Washington, was read, giving information of the reduction of the British army under the command of the Earl of Cornwallis, on the 19th instant with a copy of the articles of capitulation; Whereupon,

On motion of Mr. [Edmund] Randolph, seconded by

Resolved, That Congress will, at two o'clock this day, go in procession to the Dutch Lutheran church, and return thanks to Almighty God, for crowning the allied arms of the United States and France, with success, by the surrender of the whole British army under the command of the Earl of Cornwallis.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 29, [1781]

Resolved. That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be presented to his excellency General Washington, for the eminent services which he has rendered to the United States, and particularly for the well concerted plan against the British garrisons in York and Gloucester; for the vigor, attention and military skill with which that plan was executed; and for the wisdom and prudence manifested in the capitulation:

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be presented to his excellency the Count de Rochambeau, for the cordiality, zeal, judgment and fortitude, with which he seconded and advanced the progress of the allied army against the British garrison in York:

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to his excellency Count de Grasse, for his display of skill and bravery in attacking and defeating the British fleet off the Bay of Chesapeake, and for his zeal and alacrity in rendering, with the fleet under his command, the most effectual and distinguished aid and support to the operations of the allied army ~~in the reduction of the British Army under the command of the Earl of Cornwallis in Virginia:~~

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be presented to the commanding and other officers of the corps of artillery and engineers of the allied army, who sustained extraordinary fatigue and danger in their animated and gallant approaches to the lines of the enemy.

That General Washington be directed to communicate to the other officers and the soldiers under his command, the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, for their conduct and valor on this occasion:¹

Resolved, That the United States in Congress assembled, will cause to be erected at York, in Virginia, a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his Most Christian Majesty; and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis to ~~the allied army under the command of general Washington and Count de Rochambeau, in conjunction with the fleet under the command of the Count de Grasse.~~ [his excellency General Washington, Commander in Chief of the combined forces of America and France; to his excellency the Count de Rochambeau, commanding the auxiliary troops of his Most Christian Majesty in America, and his excellency the Count de Grasse, commanding in chief the naval army of France in the Chesapeake

Resolved. That two stands of colours taken from the British army under the capitulation of York, be presented to his excellency General Washington, in the name of the United States in Congress assembled.]²

Resolved. That two pieces of the field ordnance, taken from the British army under the capitulation of York, be presented by the Commander in Chief of the American army to Count de Rochambeau; and that there be engraved thereon a short memorandum, that Congress were induced to present them from considerations of the illustrious part which he bore in effectuating the surrender.

PART VI – TRAINING FOR A STAFF RIDE

A Staff Ride is a training event and should be approached in the same manner as any other military training in regards to establishing objectives, planning, preparation, coordination and execution. The U.S. Army doctrine for conducting a Staff Ride is contained in the Center of Military History Publication 70-21, The Staff Ride, by William G. Robertson. It should be considered the “bible” of Staff Ride operations. This section contains information extracted from that book and provides a brief overview of the intellectual training and study required for this exercise. Do not be mistaken about the work involved; how much reading and studying is accomplished before the Staff Ride determines how much an individual, group, or unit will get out of the experience. In addition, there are several ways to ensure maximum participation by all members during the course of the training. Giving assignments to study leaders, battlefield operating systems, or other military subjects enhance the results for both the individual and group.

Develop unit objectives for study based upon mission, organization, history or other factors. The Staff Ride is an exercise in critical thinking by contrasting historical events with the application of current military doctrine and techniques. The battlefields of the past stand as important reminders of the complex problems previous military leaders had to face and provide many insights applicable to today's leaders. A Staff Ride is a three-phase operation:

a. Phase I - Preliminary Study Phase: This phase consists of individual study and group-training sessions such as contained in the sample study and training plan. All personnel should be issued various historical readings that relate to the campaign and battle of Yorktown. It is important that each individual read those materials in order to gain maximum professional benefit of the exercise. The readings are not designed to make anyone an expert historian, but they do require disciplined study and understanding. In addition, each participant should be assigned a particular topic for study and they will be prepared discuss or present during the group discussions or on the staff ride.

b. Phase II - Field Study: This is the actual trip to the battlefield at Yorktown and will be conducted by members of the unit or if coordinated with help from the National Park Service. During this phase, participants may conduct presentations at various sites as it relates to a leader, key operation event, or other aspect of the battle.

c. Phase III - Integration: This is a final AAR where the participants reflect jointly upon the experience of the visit to the battlefield and share impressions they obtained as a result of the exercise. Use the standard AAR format as you would after any operation or training event. Critique everything from the historical aspects of the battle, to better ways to conduct training, to logistics support. Finally, share what you have

done with other, such as an article in your post newspaper or with your command PAO office.

As with any training event develop a training plan and obtain enough study materials to ensure that all members of the group are well versed in more than just a basic knowledge of the battle. The intent is to provide a broad, but in-depth range of historical information based on books, articles, and other resources to enable participants to fully understand the complex nature of the campaign and battle of Yorktown. Remember this exercise involves in-depth study and preparation and is not a guided tour of the battlefield or terrain walk.

To provide a structure and organization for study, use the CGSC Battle Analysis Methodology a training outline and for taking notes during your reading and study of the battle. This methodology organizes the information in a logical approach and should greatly assist you as you study the battle of Yorktown.



Phase I training using a sand table showing terrain as it would have been during the battle. Units are represented by icons with national flags and unit types.

One unique training method is to approach the Staff Ride as one approaches a contemporary military operation. Conduct a "Rock Drill" or rehearsal of the various events using a sand table and an event synchronization matrix. One advantage of history is that we know what event occurred when, making a rehearsal of this nature somewhat easier than those done at the NTC or JRTC.



Yorktown rehearsal sand table developed using period maps and terrain description from participants as related in diaries, notes, letters or other documents.

Another advantage is that by constructing a sand table of the battlefield, the terrain of the period can be depicted and greatly enhancing understanding of how the battle unfolded. It can also be contrasted to the current terrain and what to expect once the group reaches the battlefield. Use icons to represent units, these can be simply 3x5 cards folding into a "tent" and marked with appropriate symbols, or miniature soldiers, cannon, etc. Conduct the event using the rehearsal techniques and it will provide an excellent overview of the major events of the battle.



The French forces team briefing key events and actions using a historical synchronization matrix.



The sand table rehearsal exercise brings the events of the battle together before actually visiting the battlefield. Once on the actual site, participants are usually positively surprised at how little may have changed or how much they understand the battle.

STAFF RIDE PURPOSES AND OBJECTIVES

The Staff Ride is a versatile educational tool. In a general sense, its sole purpose is to further the professional development of U.S. Army leaders. Specifically, it may be designed to achieve one or many objectives, depending upon the needs of the student clientele and the circumstances under which the staff ride is conducted. Some of these specific objectives may be:

- A. To expose students to the dynamics of battle, especially those factors which interact to produce victory and defeat.
- B. To expose students to the "face of battle" the timeless human dimensions of warfare.
- C. To provide case studies in the operational art.
- D. To provide case studies in the application of the principles of war
- E. To provide case studies in combined arms operations or in the operations of a single arm or branch
- F. To provide case studies in the relationship between technology and doctrine.
- G. To provide case studies in leadership, at any level desired
- H. To provide case studies in unit cohesion.
- I. To provide case studies in how logistical considerations affect operations
- J. To show the effects of terrain upon plans and their implementation.
- K. To provide an analytical framework for the systematic study of campaigns and battles.
- L. To encourage officers and NCOs to study their profession through the use of military history.
- M. To kindle or reinforce an interest in the heritage of the U.S. Army

A carefully designed and implemented staff ride can attain simultaneously all of these objectives and more. Depending upon the campaign selected, the staff ride can illuminate any principle or lesson at any chosen level.

From: William G. Robertson. The Staff Ride. Washington D.C.: Center of Military History United States Army, 1987.

SAMPLE TRAINING SCHEDULE FOR A STUDY OF THE BATTLE OF YORKTOWN

28 September	Issue readings on American Revolutionary leaders, order of battle, maps and campaign overview.
5 October	Issue readings specific topic for individual and group study. Provide and overview of the staff ride and development of U.S. military policy
13 October	Issue readings on background of Campaign and events leading to the siege of Yorktown.
19 October	Campaign Analysis and individual presentations
26 October	Issue readings on supporting topics
2 November	Battle Analysis Rock Drill with sand table and U.S., British, and French Army operations. Final coordination for the staff ride
4 November	Phase II - Yorktown staff ride. Depart battalion NLT 0730
5 November	Phase III – AAR and integration. Battalion conference room 0900

SAMPLE STAFF RIDE ASSIGNMENTS/RESPONSIBILITIES

Campaign Analysis – 19 October 1998

Water Movement Operations – MSG Rabanal, SFC Lewis

Logistics Operations – SFC Reynolds, SSG Ross

Battle Analysis/Rock Drill – 2 November 1998

Battlefield Preparation – SFC Womack, SFC Vaughn

U.S. Forces Operations – MAJ Glover, SFC Cox, SFC Latimer

British Forces – CPT Michaelis, CPT O'Neil, SFC Stevens

French Forces – CPT Fensom, CPT Epperson, SFC Brayboy

Battlefield Discussion – 4 November 1998

Allied Operations – MAJ Rauch

Engineer/Seige Operations – SFC Vaughn/SFC Womack

Cessation of Hostilities/Surrender – LTC Hart

CGSC SIMPLIFIED BATTLE ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY

1. DEFINE THE SUBJECT

- a. Determine the date, location, and principle antagonists
- b. Determine the research sources
- c. Evaluate the research sources

2. REVIEW THE STRATEGIC SETTING

- a. Determine the causes of the conflict
- b. Compare the principle antagonists
 - 1) Consider political, economic, religious, social and technological factors
 - 2) National (strategic) objectives
 - 3) Military Systems
 - 4) Previous Performance

3. REVIEW THE TACTICAL SITUATION

- a. Study the area of operations
 - 1) Climate and weather
 - 2) Terrain (OCOKA)
- b. Compare the opposing forces:
 - 1) Strength and composition
 - 2) Technology
 - 3) Logistics and administrative systems
 - 4) Command, control and communications system
 - 5) Intelligence
 - 6) Doctrine and training
 - 7) Condition and morale
 - 8) Leadership
- c. State the immediate military objectives of each antagonist
- d. Consider the feasible courses of action for each antagonist

4. DESCRIBE THE ACTION

- a. Describe the disposition of forces at the beginning of the action
- b. Describe the opening moves by each antagonist
- c. Outline the major phases (establish a relative chronology)
- d. Describe the key events
- e. State the outcome

5. ASSESS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ACTION

- a. Immediate
- b. Long Term
- c. Military lessons learned (by BOS, Principles of War, or other method)



Members of the 4th TSBn Lee conduct a "Rock Drill" rehearsal of the Battle of Yorktown prior to the historical site visit.

COURTESY PHOTOS

Battlefield of past brings leaders closer to future

By Maj. Steve Rauch
4th TSBn Lee

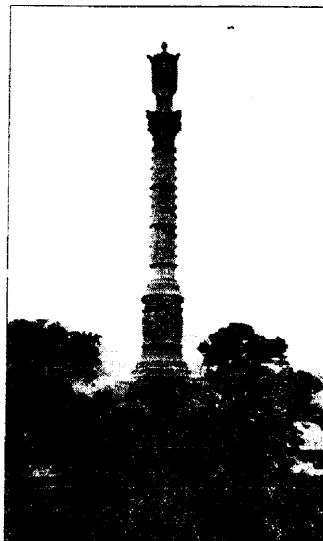
Soldiers from the Training Support Battalion gained valuable insight into the origins of the One Team, One Fight, One Future concept and a vivid example of why inter-service and intra-service cooperation is vital to achieve victory when they attended a historical staff ride of the Campaign and Battle of Yorktown.

This unique training event was designed to reinforce and support the current Army vision of One Team, One Fight, One Future as championed by Army Chief of Staff General Dennis Reimer. Recently Reimer published a white paper outlining his vision for One Team, One Fight, One Future that demonstrates the Army's commitment to a unified organization including the Active and Reserve Components.

The U.S. Army Staff Ride program is designed to support professional development through a unique method of conveying lessons of the past to those who may lead on the battlefields of tomorrow. This technique involves an in-depth study and is an exercise in critical thinking by contrasting historical events with the application of current military doctrine and techniques.

The battlefields of the past stand as important reminders of the complex problems previous military leaders faced and provide many insights applicable to today's leaders.

The staff ride was a three-phase operation. Phase I - Preliminary Study Phase consisted of individual study and group training sessions. Phase II - Field Study was the actual trip to the battlefield at Yorktown and was conducted by members of the battalion and the National Park Service. Phase III - Integration was the final after action report where the participants reflected about the visit to



Yorktown Victory Monument is an 84-foot granite memorial authorized by Congress to commemorate the allied victory of Oct. 19, 1781.

the battlefield and shared impressions they obtained as a result of the exercise.

The 4th TSBn Lee invited Regional Coordinating Element - Bravo, the unit responsible for the implementation of the Total Army School System to join them in the study of this important historical campaign.

"The goal was for soldiers of both units, Regular Army, U.S. Army Reserve, and National Guard members to study a historical campaign that was successful because of the Total Army philosophy," said Lt. Col. Hampton H. Hart, commander of 4th TSBn Lee.

During the Yorktown campaign, Gen. George Washington led units of the Continental Army (the regular Army)

and the Virginia Militia (equivalent of the National Guard). Victory over Cornwallis was successful because of this total Total Army effort. Yorktown is considered by many military historians to be the "birth" of the modern U.S. Army because of the organization and training of the Continental Army prior to the battle.

The Yorktown campaign was also a combined operation of the American Army and the French Army, and serves as the precursor of modern combined operation such as those conducted in Desert Storm and currently in Bosnia.

Yorktown was also a joint operation with both Army and Navy elements cooperating in defeating the British Army and Navy in September and October 1781.

Prior to the actual battlefield visit, 4th TSBn Lee conducted several training sessions. The lectures provided participants a refresher on the American Revolution, the background of the events of the campaign and information on the opposing Allied and British forces. History was truly alive and relevant to the daily mission.

A significant pre-execution event was

the "Rock Drill" using a terrain model developed by unit members. Soldiers were divided into teams for the American, British and French forces who then executed a synchronization matrix demonstrating how the battle unfolded in graphic and visual sense.

The 4th TSBn Lee, the former Readiness Group Lee, is a component of the AC/RC program and provides assistance and support to Reserve Component units in a four state geographic region.

Its mission is to design, coordinate, execute and evaluate CTC quality Situational Training Exercises (LANES) for Reserve Component units located throughout the Commonwealth of Virginia, West Virginia, and Maryland. The battalion also provides training, training management and technical assistance to priority Reserve Component Units and other units to enhance unit and individual readiness to meet the needs of today's missions.

The battalion is a subordinate element of the 15th Support Brigade, Fort Meade, Md., and is staffed with high quality career officers and noncommissioned officers serving in Title XI AC/RC positions in support of the Total Army.



A diorama in the Yorktown Visitors Center depicts General Washington firing the first cannon of the American bombardment.

PART VII - SUPPORT FOR A STAFF RIDE TO YORKTOWN

1. Information and Assistance:

- a. The National Park Service maintains the Yorktown battlefield as a component of the larger Colonial National Historical Park, which encompasses Jamestown and Williamsburg as well. The National Park Service staff can provide advice and assistance to any military or civilian group desiring to visit the park. The Visitor Center at Yorktown includes a small museum, orientation theater with a film and a book store. There is a picnic area located on the beach behind the Victory Monument, but restroom facilities are located only at the Visitor Center.
- b. There is a fee for all visitors to the park, however, military groups may request a fee waiver. A sample fee waiver format is included. Any unit visiting the park should coordinate its plans with the park headquarters before the actual battlefield visit.

Address: Interpretive Program Coordinator
Colonial National Historical Park
Post Office Box 210
Yorktown, Virginia 23690

Telephone: (804) 898-3400 ext 58

- c. The contact point for the Williamsburg Treatment Plant for military groups only is:

Address: Williamsburg Treatment Plant
300 Ron Springs Dr.
Williamsburg, Virginia 23185

Telephone: (757) 220 – 3443

- d. The contact point for the Carter's Grove Plantation can be reached at (757) 229-1000 ext 7435

2. Logistics.

a. Meals.

- (1) No facilities exist within the park itself, but there are some restaurants located in Yorktown. Because of the nature of the route, and the time required to complete the study, it is recommended a group bring a bag lunch and use the picnic facility or eat on the bus as they complete the tour.
- (2) There are no fast – food restaurants or quick-marts in the immediate area, but you will pass several enroute to battlefield on highway 60 and 238.
- (3) One person with a car or van could easily support any planned breaks or meals. Consider bringing such items as insulated beverage jugs. Also, soft drinks and snacks can be purchased more cheaply at a home station commissary than in local stores. Do not forget standard items such as trash bags.

b. Lodging: Numerous motels can be found in the Williamsburg and Jamestown areas. For military groups, Ft. Eustis is less than five miles from the battlefield and offers billeting for TDY. If billeting is not available, there are many motels located off of the main interchanges of I-64 and U.S. 60. Check with the motel for reduced rates for large groups or military groups.

3. Medical: The nearest military medical facility is at Ft. Eustis and the U.S. Naval Weapons Station, both within 2 to 5 miles from the battlefield.

4. Other Considerations.

- a. Clothing: Ensure that the group has proper clothing, including raincoats, gloves, etc., for inclement weather. Comfortable hiking boots are recommended rather than sneakers or other cloth shoes. The choice of whether to wear uniforms is always a consideration for military groups. I recommend a unit wear civilian clothes for several reasons. For groups that include senior officers, junior officers, noncommissioned officers, or even junior enlisted personnel, the lack of a uniform tends to foster a climate of open discussion where everyone is more likely to contribute their observations and thoughts regarding the events. The best reason however, is that the nature of the exercise promotes a good day to relax, think, and enjoy the professional interaction in an environment different from a normal duty day. The result, I believe, is participants getting the most out of this training event.

- b. Maintain safety particularly when crossing the route 238 to the redoubt position. The area has a good field of view for traffic, but be especially careful in the morning and evening as people travel to and from work.
- c. Maintain good relations with park officials and other points of contact by coordinating your visit well in advance. Ensure you close the loop with the individuals you contact with a letter or note thanking them for their assistance.



SAMPLE FEE WAIVER LETTER

MUST BE PRINTED ON OFFICIAL LETTERHEAD

REPLY TO ATTENTION OF

AFKA-B-ME-D-CO

20 October 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR: Fee Coordinator, Colonial National Historical Park, P.O. Box
210, Yorktown, Virginia 23690

SUBJECT: Fee Waiver Request for U.S. Army Training

1. REFERENCES: NPS information sheet on requesting an educational/military fee waiver to Yorktown, dtd 27 April 1998.
2. The Training Support Battalion requests a waiver of the entrance fee to visit the Yorktown unit of Colonial National Historical Park.
 - a. Date of visit: Wednesday, 4 November 1998
 - b. Purpose of visit: Conduct a military staff ride of the Battle of Yorktown as part of our unit Officer and Noncommissioned Officer training program.
 - c. Number of Participants: 25
 - d. Number of buses: 1
 - e. Group Leader: MAJ Smith
 - f. Address and phone #: Training Support Battalion
621 3rd Street
Fort Lee, VA 23801-1514
(804) 717-2139
 - g. Tour Company: James River Bus Lines
 - h. Special Requirements: As required

//Signature//

Informational Sheet on Requesting an Educational/Military Fee Waiver to Yorktown

If your military group is visiting Colonial National Historical Park, Yorktown to satisfy training requirements, you may be eligible to receive a fee waiver for entrance into the park.

If you wish to obtain a fee waiver, federal regulations require that you submit a letter on **official letterhead** with the following information:

1. Address letter to the Park Fee Coordinator.
2. Include the date of your visit to Yorktown.
3. State the purpose of the visit. Purpose must relate to educational/training, not recreational reasons. Please be specific.
4. Number in the group.
5. Number of buses, vans and/or cars.
6. Name, phone number and address of contact person. Title of contact person.
7. Name and phone number of commercial tour company transporting group, if applicable.

Upon arriving at the park, the request for fee waiver letter will be turned in to the Fee Collector.

The group may then be admitted for free. In order to ensure your group receives free admission and is exempt from the entrance fees, all of the above information must be included in the letter. Groups that do not qualify for free admission will be charged \$4.00 per adult ages 17 and above to enter Yorktown, or \$100.00 if traveling with a commercial tour company. Questions regarding a waiver of entrance fees for military groups can be answered at Yorktown, (757) 898-3400, ex. 58.

The fee waiver is only for entrance into the park. Interpretive programs are available for military groups. Reservations are required for these programs. For more information about scheduling a program for your group, contact the Interpretative Program Coordinator at (757) 898-3400, ex. 58.

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The following bibliography reflects only those sources used by the author in developing this guidebook. There are many other sources, both primary and secondary that could have been consulted. The literature of the history of the American Revolution is vast and a full scholarly review is not required to conduct a Staff Ride. Most of the secondary sources are available in local and military installation libraries. In addition, military units can order the publications offered by the U.S. Army Center of Military History through normal publication channels.

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THE AUTHOR OF THE HANDBOOK

Major Steven J. Rauch is an Ordnance officer who received his M.A. in history from Eastern Michigan University and holds the skill identifier 5X (Army Historian). He is a graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and has completed the U.S. Army War College Defense Strategy Course. He has conducted staff rides to battlefields ranging from the War of 1812 to the Korean War. He has taught military history to the Ordnance Officer Basic and Advance Courses, and as an Assistant Professor of Military Science at the University of Michigan. He has served as a logistics officer from platoon to theater army level, culminating as a forward support battalion S-3 and aviation support battalion support operations officer in the 24th Infantry Division (M).





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